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ABSTRACT

A collection of papers concerning college language instruction and exploring issues related to promoting communicative skills and cross-cultural understanding includes the following titles: (1) "Languages at College: The Student and the Curriculum," by W. M. Rivers; (2) "Dimensions of Communicative Proficiency," by A. Ramirez; (3) "Communicative Proficiency Through Comprehension," by H.S.Straight; (4) "TESOL and Approaches to the Development of Communicative Proficiency," by R. Light; (5) "Using Culture to Teach Languages," by H. Ferguson; (6) "A Model of Instruction for Integrating Culture and Language," by A. Papalia; (7) "Cultural Understanding Through Cross-Cultural Analysis," by J-F.Briere; (8) "Literature and Cultural Perspectives," by R. Bosch; (9) "Teaching Languages Through Immersion," by H. Urbanski; (10) "Individualized Instruction in Hebrew," by D. Grossberg and J. DeBenedetti; (11) "International Cooperation--The New German Business Diploma as a Model Project," by B. Elling; (12) "Using University and Community Resources in the Teaching of Russian," by R. W. Bustin; and (13) "Tiga, Topa, Tippula, and Tiggers--A Global Education Program for Primary School Pupils," by S. Losee and M. Sawyer. (MSE)

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TEACHING LANGUAGES IN COLLEGE:
COMMUNICATIVE PROFICIENCY AND CROSS-CULTURAL ISSUES

Edited by
Arnulfo G. Ramírez

Center for Languages, Literacy and Cultures Education
School of Education
State University of New York at Albany

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Funds from the grant were used to bring together university professors, public school teachers, and personnel from the New York State Department of Education in order to explore many of the issues included in this volume. Some of the funds were used in the preparation and publication of the conference papers included here. The conference proceedings, entitled *Teaching Languages in College: Communicative Proficiency and Cross-Cultural Issues*, are available through the Center for Languages, Literacy, and Cultures Education, School of Education, State University of New York at Albany.

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Introduction

Recent Educational Developments

Numerous recent reports on education note the vital importance of language and international studies. For example, A Nation at Risk strongly recommends foreign language study; the Twentieth Century Fund urges that "every American public school student should have the opportunity to acquire proficiency in a second language"; and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching recommends that "all students become familiar with the language of another culture." According to the Joint National Committee for Languages, thirteen states have commissions studying their language and education needs, and numerous governors have spoken out on the subject.

In New York State language study has been placed within the context of Education for a Global Perspective, 1982. The plan calls for "improvements in foreign-language instruction, and improvements in the international and multicultural aspects of the educational programs of the State." Language fluency and cultural understanding are seen as important aspects of New York's economic welfare, particularly with respect to world trade, information, service, manufacturing, and finances.

Recent Developments in Language Teaching

Talk about global education, language study for all students, public awareness, professional cooperation, and governmental support for languages has generated many volumes of prose. Books such as New Cases for Foreign Language Study (Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Language, 1981), A Global Approach to Foreign Language Education (papers from the Central States Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, 1981), and The Second Language Classroom: Directions for the 1980's (Alatis, Altman, and Alatis, eds., Oxford University Press, 1981) suggest a number of paths that second language instruction in the United States could follow to meet the new imperatives.

Issues related to the teaching of languages for functional proficiency and cross-cultural understanding still need to be clarified and re-examined in light of current curricular options available in universities and public schools. A recent publication, Teaching for Proficiency, The Organizing

Principle (T. B. Higgs, ed., in conjunction with the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, 1984), presents the argument that all aspects of the teaching/learning process should be organized around the concept of communicative proficiency--involving "everything that students, teachers, and teacher trainers know and understand about active, spontaneous use of language and productive cultural interaction." Many new curricular options (e.g., immersion, language and career programs, language for special purposes) are available for the development of communicative proficiency. At the same time, many methodologies (e.g., Silent Way, Total Physical Response, Communicative Language Teaching, Counseling Learning, Suggestopedia) are familiar, at least by name, to some groups of language teachers, particularly those involved with the teaching of English as a Second Language.

The teaching of language for cross-cultural understanding has received considerable attention in recent years largely as a result of the focus on intercultural communications, careers and language study, and developments in the areas of sociolinguistics and ethnography. The integration of culture with language study has been proposed by some as a more powerful organizing principle for foreign-language education than language proficiency as the sole unifying approach.

Teaching Languages in College

The papers included in this monograph examine a number of issues related to the development of communicative proficiency and cross-cultural understanding with respect to SUNY language programs. Wilga Rivers outlines the various directions language curricula can take in order to respond to diverse student and societal needs. Ramirez, Straight, and Light address questions of communicative proficiency--definitions, methodologies, and teaching strategies. Ferguson, Papalia, Briere, and Bosch focus on the role of culture in language study. Different levels of cultural awareness can be developed by an integrated (language and culture) curriculum model, through cross-cultural analysis, and through specialized literary study. Specific language programs--immersion, individualized learning, language for careers--can promote different levels of second language proficiency and cultural understanding. Urbanski, Grossberg and DeBenedetti, and Elling describe innovative college language programs with specific linguistic-cultural goals.

Finally, languages at college can link their efforts in forming a partnership with elementary and secondary schools to achieve global education imperatives. Bustin describes the ways he utilizes university resources while teaching Russian in a secondary school context. Losee and Sawyer present a model which brings international students to a primary school setting in order to provide cross-cultural experiences to children.

Languages at College: The Student and the Curriculum

Wilga M. Rivers

Things are certainly happening in foreign language. Every journal we pick up contains good news. For instance, at the University of Wisconsin/Madison, enrollments are up in all foreign language departments. This they attribute to student concern over international tensions and recognition that foreign language skills improve job opportunities. At Stanford University, future transcripts will carry a notation if students are proficient in foreign languages (they must demonstrate ability roughly equivalent to the knowledge of an excellent student late in the third quarter of the third year of study). At Harvard, the retiring Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Henry Rosovsky, told the newly appointed Dean, Michael Spence: "The tasks for the next decade include increasing attention to international studies, foreign languages, and interdisciplinary approaches to the social sciences." And finally, the Mellon Fellowship Committee observes that many of the candidates for Mellon Fellowships are ill-prepared in foreign languages, and that they will be requiring candidates in the future to demonstrate this capacity.

Where are we in relation to these new opportunities? In a recent article in Daedalus (1983), Dr. Marlies Mueller reported on what she observed in schools in an unnamed industrial city in the northeast. For purposes of anonymity, she called this city Libertyville. Some quotations will demonstrate what she found:

> . . . In class after class purporting to teach students to understand, read, write and speak a foreign language, the language is spoken only in bone-dry grammar exercises, never in an authentic exchange of ideas or information. (Mueller, 5:229)

I wonder if these teachers are teaching as they were taught? Isn't this what we see too often in undergraduate language classes? We need to move forward if the opportunities of the present moment are to be grasped.

How do we begin to design change? First of all, there is no language teaching enterprise without customers, that is, our students. Who are your students? Have you ever taken the trouble to find out? Your students are not necessarily the same as mine; however, I would like to share with you some things I found out about my own students in two quite different places.

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At the University of Illinois at Champaign/Urbana in 1972 (quite a long time ago and still at the height of the period when colleges were dropping foreign-language requirements at a rapid rate) I found that three-fifths of the students were enjoying the language study in elementary and intermediate classes, despite all the slogans and the pressure to express other views. Only one-third of our students were against requirements and opposed to studying language. The proportion would probably be less today, with less peer-pressure and a new awareness of international opportunities. At Harvard in 1980, we found that 86% were enjoying their first-year courses and 77% their intermediate courses (the latter level being where the disappointed people who "just failed the requirement" are lodged). I also found a broad interest in learning to understand and speak the language (two-thirds of the students) as well as to read and write it. Do they achieve these goals in our early classes? If not, why not? With the right approach, we can certainly help them to express themselves in a simple, comprehensible way, as well as reading interesting contemporary material of a general nature.

It was at the University of Illinois in 1972 that I found out how many of our students in advanced language classes were not majors or concentrators (42%). At Harvard with a different student population with different aspirations, a decade later, the percentage of non-majors in advanced language classes is more like 95%. This is because our program has been different in that it has largely been designed for non-concentrators (that is, non-majors). On the other hand, here at Harvard in 1980, I found other things. Teachers tend to say, "I wonder how many years they've studied the language before coming into this class?" This is such a frequent question among the teachers of first-year classes. I set out to find out the answer, that is, to see how many people in our first-year classes had studied the foreign language for two, three, four, or five years and still failed to pass the Harvard Placement Exam which decides our requirement level. My investigation showed that in Spanish only 35% of the first-year students were raw beginners, and 45% in French. In Spanish, 55% of the first-semester students had already studied the language for from two to five years; in French, 36% had already studied the language for from two to five years; in Italian, 97% were genuine beginners and in Portuguese, 100%. Surely figures like these should influence our approach to the elementary class. They should also make us ask ourselves why so many students seem to have gained so little from long years of toil with the language. No wonder they feel frustrated and imposed upon.

I also found that nearly 50% of elementary level students intended to continue their study of the language, although the requirement would be fulfilled at the end of the year. Of our first-year French group, 35% were non-requirement students. We needed to ask ourselves whether we were meeting the needs of these students. At the advanced level (fifth and sixth semester language classes) up to 96% were enjoying their study of the language and two-thirds intended to study it to a still higher level. Only seven percent of these students were fulfilling a departmental requirement. Of these advanced students, a mere fifth were studying for professional reasons; the personal pleasure rate was very high--from 80 to 90%. Most of these advanced students had already studied the language for four, five, or six years elsewhere and their enthusiasm was unquenchable. I remember one freshman at Harvard who came into my office and said, "I've studied French since fourth grade and I just have to have a French class." This was certainly a compliment to a number of teachers he had encountered during his high-school years.

What is the point of my telling you all these things about other programs? How does it concern you? It shows what interesting and useful information we can gather about our students if we are interested in them. You may want to find out quite different things within you own program. In the University of Illinois survey, I was interested to know the fields in which the students were intending to use their language and what kind of content they were interested in. The results were very interesting.

Of the concentrators, 57% expected to teach the language (the 10% who had no plans would probably teach the language anyway, due to lack of other outlets), but the electives expected to use their knowledge in science, anthropology, philosophy, music, journalism, business, aviation, law, inner-city medicine, linguistics, engineering, social work at home, social and religious service abroad, in diplomacy, international law, interpreting, library science, advertising, speech therapy, archaeology, astrophysics, and, as one student put it, "active service in today's action army." All of these areas and many more were cited by particular students. To which we may add today international business, banking, and international agencies (World Health, etc.). At Harvard, I was preparing preventive data for a threatened reconsideration of the existing moderate, proficiency-oriented requirement. We have many purposes in collecting information of this kind and yours will be different from mine, but I urge you to think seriously about collecting information on the kinds of students in your courses, their backgrounds, and their interests.

As a result of these questionnaires I was able to design a varied array of courses to suit student needs, particularly at the post-requirement level, and at Harvard, as at the University of Illinois at Champaign/Urbana previously, we have been attracting students in droves ever since. We've had a 66% increase in student enrollment over the past decade. Our problem is not finding courses for our graduate students and language-teaching personnel to teach, but finding enough instructors for the courses (and enough money from the Dean to pay for all this!); but where there are students, there is a way.

What directions can our curriculum take? In "The Revolution Now: Revitalizing the University Language Departments" (which you will find in my book, Speaking in Many Tongues, 3rd Edition, Cambridge University Press, 1983), I have proposed five directions for a language program. Without going through all the details in that article, I will touch on these briefly. First of all it seems to me that our real work at college is in our advanced language classes and I will try to give you some ideas of the ways in which these can be designed. In The Chronicle of Higher Education of May 2, 1984, there was an article quoting from a report prepared for the Defense Department by the Association of American Univerities, in which Professor Richard Lambert of the University of Pennsylvania, the Director of the study, is quoted as saying that the "first priority" for resolving the country's problems in advanced training in foreign languages and area studies was to "transform and upgrade the language teaching at the advanced levels." We do well to keep this in mind for the future health of our departments.

1. Foreign Language and International Studies. This direction is an obvious new alignment, even without the recommendations of the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies. Since departmental

divisions are deep, this direction requires the establishment of contacts by concerned individuals. As foreign language teachers we are not the experts at college-level and international studies, but we can provide an auxiliary skill. Courses with this intention in mind are best team-taught with experts from international studies, while the language department conducts discussion sections on contemporary material in the language. (At Monash University in the 1960s we already had courses in French philosophy, French history, French psychology, and French governmental institutions.)

To take part in such a program the foreign language instructor must be well-read and must keep on reading. This direction of foreign language and international studies can be linked with study abroad programs, preferably home stay programs, but certainly ones in which students have definite research projects which take them into the community, or working internships like those established with France by the Atlantic Alliance.

2. Language and Intercommunity Understanding. Learning to accept difference and to cooperate with "different" others are important skills in the modern world. A unit on using the telephone in another country or on metric measures does not insure this kind of understanding. Neither does talking about facts and details of another culture. Students must learn to cope within another culture, and for this they need personal contact where possible with the other culture, or at least vicarious contact. They need to "see" the other culture on its own terms and recognize their own prejudices and assumptions. For this, they need visual contact (video, television, satellite, illustrated reading material, and experience in studying possible points of conflict between cultures). Open scenarios where students work out dilemmas, culture capsules, vigorous discussion of how people behave and react in the other culture--all these are helpful. But study of another culture is not just points of conflict. Appreciation of shared values and institutions should also receive emphasis. Particularly in high school, we should ask ourselves why we teach about one other culture, instead of sharing across languages what students are learning about several different cultures. This is a rich area that is in no way being exhausted as content for language courses.

3. Understanding the Process of Communication. How meanings are expressed, how languages function in social situations, and the pragmatics of discourse are all important areas which whould be covered. The work of Professor Laurence Wylie gives us a lead, with his emphasis on nonverbal communication: the ways we express our real meaning in harmony with, or even in contradiction to, the words we use. His emphasis on "getting them out of their Americay body" is important, as students realize the contributions of body movements, facial expressions, and the slight movements of eyebrow, head, hand, shoulder. They need to understand cultural differences and the distance we keep between ourselves and others; the ways we touch and avoid; the degree of eye-contact we maintain; the effect of loudness of voice and emphasis; the uses of silence, and so on. These nonverbal aspects of communication become strikingly obvious to us when we see films or even pictures of people communicating in another language and relating to each other in another culture. When we give structured conversation groups or unstructured "oral survival" classes, we need to more than have students prepare long oral reports to which others listen, often in boredom, asking perhaps a few stilted questions. For students to understand the process of communication, they must be continually giving and receiving meanings, structured as much as possible in ways which would be acceptable within the culture.

4. Languages for Specific Purposes or Career Preparation. At college level, languages for specific purposes should not be limited to Reading for Graduate Students as a Ph.D. requirement, although this is an important course and can be done well. There is need for teaching reading for information in individualized ares of concern for others than Ph.D. students. However, Spanish, French, or German for Business also come into this area, and both Paris and Madrid offer a Certificate of Competency in relation to such courses. These will be more useful if contacts are made with the Business School and if they are designed with the needs of business communities in the area in mind. Spanish and Portuguese for the Professions will prepare students for jobs where they have to come in contact with disadvantaged groups who speak these languages, and such courses are useful for future doctors, lawyers, firefighters, police personnel, and so on. Italian is very usefuli for music majors and majors in architecture and archaeology, as, of course,

are other languages. The differences between general language courses and courses for specific purposes are not just in the area of vocabulary. Some career-oriented courses will emphasize aural-oral ability, others facility in reading or writing reports. The functional notional approach is very useful in such endeavors, and instructors need to familiarize themselves with the work situations that the different careers provide.

5. Language as the Key to Humanistic Studies. This must never be neglected. Here I am not speaking just of literary criticism but of literary appreciation and involvement of literature and the philosophy of the speakers of the language. Humanistic studies are essential to counteract the over-technologization and impersonalization of the present-day world, but we have to realize that a true understanding and appreciation of what the writer had to say to his reader can come only when the student has sufficient knowledge of the language to appreciate it. Texts can be used from the very first week, if carefully selected. Poems and short plays, as well as short stories and folk-tales, are very appropriate for early stages. Literary content, well-chosen, makes for an exciting, interesting course. The proof of the pudding is in the eating, and we know that these courses are successful when they attract non-literature concentrators and when students, after the course, go on to read more of the work of the authors they have studied. In courses of this nature, there must be plenty of room for discussion, for expression of divergent thinking, for developing flexible minds and articulateness in well-read individuals. We must not leave World Literature to other departments when we ourselves have so much to give in bringing them in touch with the texts as written by the original writers.

Who carries out these changes? We may ask who will be the person who will be sufficiently interested to carry these changes right through all the process involved within departments and within faculties. Will this be done by the professors of literature, or by junior faculty also trained in literature and literary-oriented? Adjunct faculty, too, are usually literature-trained and poorly respected, while being over-loaded, within their departments. Are graduate students to be urged to create these courses, when they have their dissertations to concentrate on (the latter are also overworked and poorly paid)? There is a need for those who will be in charge of language development to be re-trained or trained differently. Many ideas on the development of undergraduate and graduate programs, as seen by junior faculty from a number of universities, can be found in my article, "Preparing College and University Instructors for a Lifetime of Teaching: A Luxury or a Necessity?" (ADFL Bulletin, 15(2), November 1983). Most of the respondents to my inquiries, as reported in this article, emphasize the need for proper training for the language work on which they would spend most of their career, and this kind of preparation should include the development of curriculum. As teachers we are a lecturing group. We lecture in literature, in linguistics, in culture, and then, if not checked, we tend to lecture on grammar in language classes. Our future faculty need to learn to give way and let students express themselves, to direct more group work, to tolerate less than the perfectly accurate when students are expressing themselves. A number of universities around the country are coming to the conclusion that the training of graduate fellows or assistants in teaching must be given serious consideration. Perhaps our hope for more fully developed undergraduate language programs lies with the junior faculty who are now coming into our universities and colleges. However, we must not wait for things to happen but rather make them happen in our own situation.

How do we teach languages at college? This is the last question, not the first. Curriculum comes before methodology. There is no "best" method, fortunately. There are methods and combinations of techniques, and most new methods fall into the latter category. What we need in college-language teaching is an interactive approach. I will now briefly set out ten aspects of an interactive approach. More information will be obtained from a book which I am currently editing, to be called The Interactive Approach, which will in all probability appear from Cambridge University Press in late 1985.

Features of the Interactive Approach.

1. The interactive approach allows for individuality on the part of both the learner and the teacher. The most effective learning takes place when both student and teacher are at ease in the situation.

2. Success in communicative language learning can be attributed to a great deal of interaction: teacher-student, student-student, student-community. We see this in the most successful direct method, audio-lingual

method, community-language learning, natural approach, Dartmouth Intensive Method, and in immersion programs.

3. Understanding other individuals and appreciating their uniqueness and their unique needs is essential for genuine interaction. This is not possible when someone is manipulating or directing others. Therefore, the interactive approach is not teacher-directed or dominated. Interaction can be two-way, three-way, four-way, but never one-way.

4. The teacher steps out of dead-center and sees a place in decision-making and initiating to the student, accepting all kinds of opinions and being tolerant of errors the student makes in attempting to communicate.

5. The interactive approach implies purposeful, task-oriented learning. Students do things together for which they use the language. Drama, songs, music, games, even dance are important. Simulation games, extemporized skits, or vigorous arguments and discussions are frequent activities.

6. Interaction cannot take place where there is tension or alienation. The teacher needs skill and patience to defuse, relax, enthuse, and attract, allowing students to express what is in them.

7. The interactive approach requires the highest degree of indirect leadership and emotional maturity. Imagination, perceptiveness, and sensitivity are better than any bag of techniques or tricks. We teach and interact most effectively, according to our own personality.

8. The interactive approach encourages teacher innovation and promotes student participation. The interaction may be quiet or noisy, assured and vigorous, or indirect. No one approach ensures a direction, which comes from the mix of teacher and student in any particular situation.

9. Interaction does not preclude the learning of the grammatical system. We interact better if we can understand and express nuances of meaning.

10. Finally, interaction is what literature is about--writers interacting with their readers and readers interacting with the text. Interaction can also take place in the writing of poems and essays and in the creation of short stories and scenes, as well as the enjoyment and creation of folk-tales and proverbs.

In conclusion I would like to quote from a junior faculty member who resonded to my recent questionnaire.

I think that I would want to emphasize the sense in which language-teaching at the college level differs greatly from the teaching that goes on in other subjects. It is a very special opportunity, both for instructor and student, for actively engaging in a process, rather than reporting on some process from the outside. Learning to communicate is a magical phenomenon, and one which can be for the college student a deeply satisfying, even stabilizing psychological and emotional force.

If we allow imagination, innovation, and individuality to be our watchwords in our college programs, then perhaps this will be so.

Dimensions of Communicative Proficiency

Arnulfo G. Ramirez

The concept of language proficiency--what it is to "know" a language--is influenced by such aspects as views regarding language itself, developments in language testing theory, and educational concerns. Language, for example, can be seen as a system, consisting of various levels--phonology, vocabulary, and grammar, which are integrated to perform a number of functions--directing, informing, requesting, and apologizing. These functions, in turn, are performed in different situations (home/school/airport) involving different participants (adult/child/friend/stranger) while discussing various topics.

Communicative proficiency[1] in this case will be discussed in terms of the following areas: (1) the language skills-components perspective, (2) the communicative view of language, (3) components of communicative proficiency, and (4) problem areas associated with the assessment of communicative proficiency.

The Language Skills-Components Approach

Recent development in language testing has been devoted to characterizing the different linguistic aspects tapped by various tests (cf., Davis, 1978; Jones & Spolsky, 1975; Oller, 1979; Oller & Perkins, 1978, 1980; Valette, 1977). Language testing associated with the behavioral-structural model of language learning divides language skills according to linguistic levels (phonology, morphology, syntax, vocabulary) and into performance skills which are either receptive (reading, listening) or active (writing, speaking). These skills are usually tested according to a discrete point approach which allows for high (specific item based) reliability.

Linguistic competence usually refers to the ability to produce (and recognize) structures which are grammatically correct. Davies (1978, p. 149) describes this ability as an "analytical discrete" skill which is reflected in the speaker's mastery of the formal grammar of the language. Palmer (1979, p. 170) views this competence in terms of a "compartmentalized control" of the language.

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[1] Communicative proficiency is used here as performance ability in addition to the speaker-hearer's knowledge of the language.

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The Communicative Approach

Communicative competence is often characterized as an "integrated control" (Palmer, 1979, p. 170) of language reflected in the speaker's ability to understand and use language appropriately to communicate in various situations. The theoretical basis for the communicative competence construct is the anthropological, sociolinguistic and pragmatic view of language. The testing of communicative competence tends to be associated with a global ability (integrating the different elements of language--grammar, vocabulary, etc.) involved in communicative acts--giving directions, requesting permission, apologizing, etc. In most instances, the specific situations are described by the examiner and rating scales are used to evaluate how effectively the examinee performed the communicative act.

Definitions of communicative competence are often relatively broad (e.g., ability to adapt the totality of one's communicative resources, both linguistic and functional (i.e., extra-linguistic and paralinguistic) to a given situation (Legarreta, 1979, p. 523). Recent attempts undertaken by communication experts (Wiemann & Backlund, 1980) or applied linguists (Canale & Swain, 1980) to define the concept of communicative competence have only demonstrated the multiplicity of possible components. It seems that at least three distinct traditions of inquiry are merging in the communicative competence field: (1) psychologists and communication specialists view communicative competence primarily as the ability to understand, organize and convey information (e.g., Flavell et al., 1973), (2) in the tradition of philosophers of language like Austin (1962) or Searle (1969), communicative competence is viewed as the ability to perform speech acts efficiently, and (3) sociolinguistic tradition, itself often influenced by the philosophy of language mentioned under 2 above, defines communicative competence with regard to situational appropriateness of language use (Hymes, 1971; Shuy, 1979).

Components of Communicative Proficiency

Communicative proficiency can be characterized in terms of various systems of knowledge and skills. Canale's (1981) framework includes four areas:

1. Grammatical competence: mastery of the language code (verbal or nonverbal), thus concerned with such features as lexical items, and rules of sentence formation, pronunciation, and literal meaning.

2. Sociolinguistic competence: mastery of appropriate language use in different sociolinguistic contexts, with emphasis on appropriateness of meanings (e.g., attitudes, speech acts, and propositions) and appropriateness of forms (e.g., register, non-verbal expression, and intonation).

3. Discourse competence: mastery of how to combine and interpret forms and meanings to achieve a unified spoken or written text in different genres by using (a) cohesion devices to relate utterance forms (e.g., pronouns, transition words, and parallel structures) and (b) coherence rules to organize meanings (e.g., repetition, progression, consistency, and relevance of ideas).

4. Strategic competence: mastery of verbal and nonverbal strategies (a) to compensate for breakdowns in communication due to insufficient competence or to performance limitations (e.g., strategies such as use of dictionaries, paraphrase, and gestures) and (b) to enhance the effectiveness of communication (e.g., deliberately slow and soft speech for rhetorical effect). (Canale, 1984, p. 112)

This model incorporates the oral and written modalities of language within various communicative situations (e.g., writer to reader as friend or stranger; speaker to listener--student to teacher or teacher to teacher). At the same time, the linguistic component interacts with systems of knowledge and skills (e.g., knowledge of the world, general perception strategies) as well as with a theory of human action involving personality factors and decision making processes.

The Council of Europe model (Van Ek, 1975) represents a multiple interpretation of proficiency combining roles (e.g., stranger/friend, psychologically neutral/sympathetic), settings (e.g., airport, friend's home, party), topics (e.g., personal, weather), functions (e.g., imparting and seeking factual information, expressing and finding out emotional attitudes, socializing), notions (e.g., spatial-location/distance/motion, temporal-speed/frequency/lateness), and language activities (speaking, listening, reading, and writing).

Communicative Proficiency: Some Problem Areas

The measurement of communicative proficiency faces many problems, some of them related to the already mentioned vagueness of the concept or trait to be measured. The measurement problems are compounded by the fact that the usual measurement of communicative competence is based on global rating scale approaches, while linguistic competence is generally measured in tests using a discrete item method. As a result, the suggestion has been made that in many situations a presumed difference between measured linguistic and communicative competence may reflect a difference in method of measurement rather than in the trait or constructs being measured (e.g., Corigan & Upshur, 1978; Stevenson, 1979).

Morrow (1977), for example, suggests a "discrete feature" approach to testing communicative skills in order to isolate nine variables which can have a bearing on a speech act. He suggests isolating the following aspects: setting, topic, function, modality, pre-supposition, role, formality, and status. Following are three samples which focus on three sociolinguistic dimensions associated with a speech act.

Sample One: Presentation: Oral (tape recorded or spoken)
Type: Identification
Present: Excuse me, do you know where the nearest post-office is, please?

1. (Setting) Where might one ask you that question?
    a. In your house.
    b. In your office.
    c. In the street.
    d. In a restaurant.

2. (Topic) What is the person asking you about?
    a. The price of stamps.
    b. The age of the post-office.
    c. The position of the post-office.
    d. The size of the post-office.

3. (Function) Why is the person speaking to you?
    a. To ask your advice.
    b. To thank you.
    c. To ask for information.
    d. To warn you.

(Morrow, 1977. p. 29)

One of the challenges in constructing communicataive competence tests is the resolution of what has been referred to as the reliability/validity tension in language testing (Davies, 1978). Highly reliable discrete item tests which present language out of context lack the communicative situation and therefore have little face validity. Tests which elicit genuine communicative types of responses have the validity but often depend for their reliability on inter-rater agreements based on rating scales.

Another area of concern is the accuracy/fluency distinction. Higgs and Clifford (1982) have proposed a trisectional view of communicative competence which includes statements about the linguistic functions that a speaker is able to express, about the content (topic/areas) that can be discussed, and about the degree of accuracy in conveying the message.

> Thus, with respect to oral proficiency, pronunciation and the fluency/integrative factors directly relate to functions; the sociolinguistic/cultural and vocabulary factors directly relate to context/content; while grammar predictably relates directly to accuracy.
>
> (Lowe, 1985, pp. 28-29)

This view of communicative competence is reflected in the A.C.T.F.L. guidelines, which describe speaking, listening, reading, writing, and cultural skills in relation to function, context, and accuracy. Figure 1 outlines the five levels of oral proficiency adapted from the Interagency Language Round Table (I.L.R.). Thus, judgments of an individual's proficiency must take into account all three factors that are interrelated hierarchically.

Communicative proficiency can be described from various perspectives--a behavioral-structural view of language or a sociolinguistic consideration involving the appropriate use of language ("integrated control") in different situations. Communicative proficiency can also be characterized in terms of various components--Canale's fourfold concept or the Council of Europe's multiple categories framework. The particular characterization of proficiency creates challenges in the construction of communicative competence tests. Highly reliable discrete item tests usually present language out of context and thus face a validity problem. Approaches which elicit genuine communicative types of responses are valid measures but often depend for their reliability on inter-rater agreement based on rating scales. At the same time, the issues of accuracy and fluency need to be addressed. Beyond this, there are questions of content (knowledge of topics, subjects, and activities) and the test-taking event itself, which may be affected by a number of extralinguistic factors.

FIGURE 1: FUNCTIONAL TRISECTION OF ORAL PROFICIENCY LEVELS

Level	Functions	Content	Accuracy
ILR Speaking Level	Task accomplished, attitudes expressed, tone conveyed.	Topics, subject areas, activities, and jobs addressed.	Acceptability, quality, and accuracy of message conveyed.
5	Functions equivalent to an Educated Native Speaker (ENS).	All subjects.	Performance equivalent to Educated Native Speaker (ENS).
4	Able to tailor language to fit audience, counsel, persuade, negotiate, represent a point of view, and interpret for dignitaries.	All topics normally pertinent to professional needs.	Nearly equivalent to ENS. Speech is extensive, precise, appropriate to every occasion with only occasional errors.
3	Can converse in formal and informal situations, resolve problem situations, deal with unfamiliar topics, provide explanations, describe in detail, support opinions, and hypothesize.	Practical, social, professional, and abstract topics, particular interests, and special fields of competence.	Errors virtually never interfere with understanding and rarely disturb the ENS. Only sporadic errors in basic structures.
2	Able to fully participate in casual conversations; can express facts; give instructions; describe, report on, and provide narration about current, past, and future activities.	Concrete topics such as own background, family, and interests, work, travel, and current events.	Understandable to NS not used to dealing with foreigners; sometimes miscommunicates.
1	Can create with the language; ask and answer questions, participate in short conversations.	Everyday survival topics and courtesy requirements.	Intelligible to a NS used to dealing with foreigners.
0	No functional ability.	None.	Unintelligible.

(Lowe, 1985: 28)

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Communicative Proficiency Through Comprehension

H. Stephen Straight

The present paper will address the question of how to achieve just one of the two goals of language instruction that are included in our conference title. Specifically, it focuses on the issue of what instructional methods to use in order to foster the highest possible level of communicative proficiency in language acquirers, where communicative proficiency is defined as native-like ability to use the language as a medium of two-way communication. The paradoxical answer to this quetion is that communicative proficiency is most effectively and efficiently achieved by means of instruction that emphasizes the development of comprehension skills (listening and reading) to the virtual exclusion of training in production.

However, before presenting the details of this heretical answer, and defending it in terms of some equally heretical theoretical psycholinguistic ideas, it is essential to discuss some of the ways in which the achievement of communicative proficiency relates to the achievement of other different but valid instructional goals, including the goal of cross-cultural understanding mentioned in our conference title. It turns out that a good deal of the controversy that surrounds the "comprehension approach" recommended in this paper is due to the multiplicity of goals of most language instruction. Because the comprehension approach focuses exclusively on the development of native-like communicative proficiency, it fails to address any of these other goals. Recognition of these other, often unacknowledged, goals is required if we are to develop an instructional program appropriate to meet them.

A brief review of the variety of goals in language teaching should persuade you that a variety of different instructional approaches is probably required, each directed toward a different goal or set of goals. It may also persuade you that, except insofar as these various possible goals conflict, an instructional scheme that hopes to achieve a combination of goals will have to include a variety of different approaches in an eclectic but integrated manner.

Instrumental versus Intellectual Goals in Language Teaching

Communicative proficiency and cross-cultural understanding are good examples of the two basic categories of goals typically pursued in language

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instruction. In the case of communicative proficiency, the goal of language instruction is to develop the full range of language skills of the imagined typical fluent native listener-speaker. As demonstrated by Professor Ramirez in his contribution to this volume, such proficiency deserves far more than the simple "four skills" description traditionally recognized in language instruction. Nevertheless, even full communicative proficiency is limited to just those aspects of language skill that enable a person to use a language for interpersonal communication. These skills thus all fall into the category of what I will here call the instrumental goals of language teaching.

Cross-cultural understanding, on the other hand, is a very different sort of goal. On one interpretation of the phrase, which appears to be the interpretation of the organizer and contributors to the second session of the present conference, this goal puts less emphasis on the development of practical skill in using the language than on the development of reflective appreciation of the ways in which the language reveals and explicates a wide range of cultural characteristics of the people who use it. This sort of conscious knowledge plays no necessary role in the use of the language in communication: indeed, even native listener-speakers of the language may not have any awareness of the ways in which their language embodies beliefs and attitudes that are specific to their particular cultural group. When teachers seek to bring these insights to the attention of language-acquirers, they are furthering what I will here call the intellectual goals of language teaching.

Communicative proficiency and cross-cultural understanding are good examples of instrumental and intellectual goals of language teaching, but they are by no means the only such examples.

Examples of Instrumental Goals Other Than Communicative Proficiency

The typical but very ambitions instrumental goal of full native-like communicative proficiency has recently been recognized to be dividable into a large number of more specific sub-goals. Many acquirers have rather limited "specific" or "special" purposes for which they intend to use a new language, and these more limited purposes can guide the selection of teaching materials and methods so as to ensure that the acquirers will acquire the communicative skills they really need (Mackay & Mountford, 1978; Mackay & Palmer, 1981; Munby, 1978; Wilkins, 1974). It should be noted, though, that the desired endpoint of specific-purpose instruction is still the achievement of fluent communicative skill, but in only a limited arena of verbal interaction.

In extreme cases, the goals of an acquirer may not even be described as those of "proficiency" or "fluency." They are instead sub-fluent instrumental goals. For example, many acquirers have no loftier goal in mind than simply to get along in the language for a brief period, such as during a visit to Paris or Madrid. In this case, rather than speaking a few dozen highly fluent and very correct utterances it might be better for such acquirers to speak the language in the very roughest of "pidginized" versions, sufficient to satisfy their various but rather limited needs. Clear signs of their marginal language ability might even be intentionally introduced and maintained in their speech in order to keep fluent listener-speakers from jumping to false conclusions about the extent of their communicative capabilities. Despite the fact that the majority of college-level students who attain any usable production ability at all attain a level describable as pidgin, I don't know of anyone who has said that this is what foreign language instruction is supposed to achieve. Explicit recognition of this limited goal would surely lead to the adoption of radically different instructional materials and methods.

Another sub-fluent instrumental goal, however, plays a powerful and very explicit role in shaping most language instruction: acquirers are expected to speak the language as soon as possible. When people hear that you're studying Russian, they will expect you to be able to "say something in Russian." And when you have something you want to say in the new language, you want very much to know how to say it. The "Community Language Learning" approach of Curran (1961), for example, builds its counseling-learning schemes around the high motivation acquirers have to express themselves. Teachers, too, typically put a high premium on early production skills. When they teach acquirers new forms of the language, they want to be able to use production tasks as measures of the success of that teaching. And when they speak to acquirers in the language they would prefer responses in kind rather than responses in the acquirers' native language or only nonverbal responses.

To be sure, both acquirers and teachers quickly realize that they must accept a prolonged period of severe limitation in emerging production fluency. But the typical early emphasis on memorized dialogues, rote phrases, and vocabulary lists can be attributed very largely to the power of this instrumental goal of early production skill. This bias toward production results from a number of mistaken beliefs about the nature of language and language acquisition (Straight, 1976, 1978, 1982), but these beliefs are so deep-seated that their repercussions on language instruction have to be reckoned with regardless of what language-acquisition theory one espouses.

Most examples of instrumental goals other than communicative fluency constitute reductions from that goal. In some cases, however, the instrumental goals of language acquirers, or of language teachers, are supra-fluent. That is, they go beyond mere communicative fluency to encompass such things as sequential or simultaneous translation, or creative writing. There is nothing wrong with these goals, of course, but it is important to realize that they presuppose and are over and above the basic instrumental goal of communicative proficiency. Translation and story-writing are not things that come automatically with communicative proficiency, nor should they be used as measures of the relative communictive proficiency achieved by acquirers.

Examples of Intellectual Goals Other Than Cross-Cultural Understanding

In some cases the intellectual goals of language instruction depend upon the attainment of a high level of instrumental skills. Goals of this type include such things as literary criticism or historical research and encompass all the many humanistic and scientific pursuits that require an ability to understand ideas expressed in the new language and to articulate one's opinions or findings in that language. Although their appearance in the "FL" curriculum is typically limited to "Lit[erature] and Civ[ilization]," these intellectual goals, in principle, run the full range of the goals of education that one pursues through the medium of one's native language. And the means of meeting these goals fully coincide with the means that one might use to meet them in the native-language context. Here we find the problems of the "language teacher" to be little different from those of the teacher in general, who also must provide students with appropriate vocabulary and background knowledge. I'll call this category of intellectual goals supra-instrumental.

Other intellectual goals are more specific to language teaching, however, and can even be pursued in the absence of instrumental goals. The most obvious of these intellectual goals in most current language instruction is the inclusion of a wide range of analytical observations about the language being taught. Acquirers are told a lot about such things as consonants and vowels, or nouns, verbs, and adjectives, or subjects and predicates, and they are often told to memorize pronunciation rules, declensions, and syntactic formulas. They may also be taught things about the history of the language or about its current dialectal variants. I'll call this sub-category of intellectual goals linguistic.

Unfortunately, none of this has been demonstrated to contribute to the achievement of communicative proficiency, though most acquirers expect to learn such things and virtually all teachers expect to teach them. This hardy vestige of the outmoded "grammar-translation" method of language instruction is particularly robust in college-level contexts, but it is a virtually universal component of instruction, despite the fact that its only known effects on communicative proficiency are negative (see Krashen, 1972b).

The use of such conscious knowledge can of course help an acquirer to perform the various senseless and artificial tasks that are typically used to gauge language ability. Ironcially, then, many of the acquirers who do "best" in current language instruction may actually be superior not in acquiring communicative skills in the language but rather in learning about the language. Moreover, the conscious monitor they employ in language performance (Krashen, 1977) is actually a source of self-conscious disfluencies that do not appear in the performance of acquirers with less aptitude for intellectual-linguistic tasks (Krashen, 1978). After all, native listener-speakers differ radically in their aptitude in this area with little correlation to their degree of communicative proficiency. Acquirers and teachers are nevertheless committed to the proposition that explicit attention to "grammar" is an essential component of language instruction.

The third broad sub-category of intellectual goals, after supra-instrumental and linguistic, can be called cultural. It is here that we find the goal of cross-cultural understanding, which is implicit in the presentation of any and all items of information about the history and habits of the people who speak the language being taught. Cultural intellectual goals rank high among the reasons usually given for the inclusion of foreign language instruction in general education curricula, and textbooks invariably include tidbits of cultural content, whether quaint or modern, mundane or grand. And advanced instruction of the supra-instrumental variety is often seen as a continuation from this early cultural intellectual goal of language instruction.

Both linguistic and cultural aspects of languge study are valued for the insight they give acquirers into the nature and extent of the things that differentiate them from the members of a language group other than their own. Such insight is typically held to be an automatic by-product of exposure to a description and examples of the language and culture involved, whether or not such exposure is reinforced by specific cross-linguistic or cross-cultural comparison. Explicit cross-cultural comparison, however, is also widely used to a further purpose: it can provide a provocative basis for the communicative interaction between acquirer and teacher that is essential to the development of communicative fluency.

In the case of a purely intellective program of instruction, however, no expectation of the achievement of communicative fluency need be made. While the instrumental goals of language teaching demand a focus upon the establishment of the subconscious processes of language perception and production, the intellective goals can be met without teaching such skills. The accumulation of conscious items of fact and theory concerning the language or the people who use it could obviously be achieved in a class in linguistics or history without any intention of developing an ability to use the language. In fact, there is considerable reason to doubt that most such non-instrumental goals are best served in the context of an instrumentally-oriented language class (see Straight, in press, for further discussion of how best to achieve non-instrumental goals).

Combining Goals

As long as the goals selected do not conflict with each other, a single language instruction method may freely combine goals from among the set identified here (see accompanying table). Thus one may combine any number of different "specific-purpose" modules in a method designed to result in full communicative fluency. After all, any method requires the seclection of topics and materials to which the acquirer is to be exposed, and the specific practical purposes of the acquirers can easily serve as the basis for such selection. One is similarly free to combine cultural intellectual goals with any and all instrumental goals by means of judicious selection of teaching materials. The only danger here is that fascination with the content of such materials may so distract the acquirers that they proceed to discuss it in their native language when they ought to be receiving increasingly more sophisticated input.

Goals of Language Instruction

INSTRUMENTAL	INTELLECTUAL
Fluent "Communicative Proficiency" "Specific-Purpose"	Supra-Instrumental Literary Criticism, History, Science, etc.
Sub-Fluent "Pidginized" "Early Production"	Linguistic Phonetics, Philology, Grammar, Dialectology, etc.
Supra-Fluent Translation, Creative Writing, etc.	Cultural Daily Life, Mores, "Cross-Cultural Understanding"

Unfortunately, many of the goals do conflict, in the sense that efforts to meet one of them may work against the efforts appropriate to meeting another. This has long been recognized, for example, for translation ability. If initial language instruction emphasizes translation between the native language and the language being acquired, the acquirer is likely to construct a word-for-word pattern of correspondances between the two languages. The sort of "compound bilingualism" (Weinreich (1953) that results from such a forced merger of the two languages prevents the acquirer from achieving accurate understanding or expression in the new language and, of course, precludes accurate translation. For this reason, the development of translation skill can only occur after the development of rich receptive and expressive skills in the languages involved. A similar postponement is necessary for creative writing and other instrumental goals that depend upon full communicative fluency for their development.

Other less obvious examples of conflict emerge only after one has looked closely at the question of what methods are most appropriate for language instruction of various sorts. The two major sources of such conflict have already been alluded to, but I will mention them again here. First, the presentation of linguistic analytic units and principles ("grammar") is now widely (though not universally) recognized to be detrimental to the development of native-like communicative fluency. It appears that to the extent acquirers may be encouraged to employ consciously known "facts" about the language as a basis for understanding or producing utterances in it, to that same extent their performance as listener-speakers will be artificial. Explicit learning of pronunciation and grammar has not been demonstrated to be either necessary or effective in the development of fluent listening or speaking (Krashen, 1981b).

Second, an early emphasis on production, whether written or oral, has also been discredited by recent research, both basic and applied. This research will be outlined in the next section of this paper, but it should be mentioned here that acquirers' expectations regarding early speaking and teachers' practical and traditional desire that they do so are clearly the greatest obstacles to the adoption of a teaching methodology that would lead to the best acquisition outcomes in both listening and speaking skills. Furthermore, the specific-purposes goals mentioned earlier can also come into conflict with general proficiency training on this point: if the specific-purpose domain is one that the acquirer must be able to function in both receptively and expressively as soon as possible, the pressure to introduce expressive skills may be irresistible. In this case, the specific-purpose goals, like the touristic or other "survival"-oriented goals, may conflict, at least in the short term, with a goal of native-like communicative proficiency.

For the remainder of this paper, however, I will discuss the methods and theoretical basis for language instruction exclusively in the context of the most widely stated instrumental goal. That is, I will assume that the "why" of language instruction is usually best answered as "to achieve a full and native-like range of instrumental language skills." To the extent that this is not the goal, the rest of what I have to say may have little bearing on the "how" of language instruction. For present discussion, then, I will assume that the acquirer is one who wishes to achieve native fluency in the language and that both the teacher and the acquirer are willing to focus upon this goal to the exclusion of such competing goals as the learning of conscious grammatical knowledge and the early emergence of production skills.

Comprehension versus Production in Language Teaching

A growing and diverse body of empirical research indicates that the best way to acquire a language is to acquire the skills needed to comprehend it fluently, and that everything else will follow, if not automatically, at least far more easily and effectively. Early suggestions for an emphasis on comprehension training date back to the 1950s and 1960s (Asher, 1969; Belasco, 1967; Scherer, 1950, 1952), but it was not until the 1970s that a full-fledged "comprehension approach" to language instruction emerged (Burling, 1978; Davies, 1976; Postovsky, 1974; Winitz & Reeds, 1973, 1975). In the 1980s this approach has come to occupy a prominent position in the field (Burling, 1982; Davies, 1980; Gary & Gary, 1980, 1981; Krashen, 1981a; Krashen & Terrell, 1983; Nord, 1980; Terrell, 1982; Winitz, 1981).

Characteristics of the Comprehension Approach

A prime characteristic of the comprehension approach is that it omits grammar: it avoids the teaching of explicit linguistic knowledge (Krashen, 1982a). Conscious attentiveness to the form of one's own productions or of the productions of others gets in the way of fluent communicative exchange. Burling (1982) even goes so far as to say that the conscious precepts of "grammatical usage" are not useful in the process of recognizing and correcting errors: the most effective "monitor" is not conscious grammatical rule-following but rather the intuitive trial-and-error process of arriving at an approapariate utterance after noticing that something one has said or is about to say doesn't "sound right."

Similarly, the best language acquisition situation is one that recreates the supportive and relaxed atmosphere of the native language acquirer. Anything that might serve to annoy or distract the acquirer is to be avoided. Without any doubt, the greatest source of tension and preoccupation for language acquirers is the frustration and fatigue produced by their forced attempts to express themselves in a new language. Most acquirers, however, accept their teachers' admonition that this discomfort and effort are unavoidable components of the language acquisition process. Happily, advocates of the comprehension approach have concluded that the best language instruction method is one in which acquirers are not required to speak or otherwise produce in the language being acquired.

The best method of teaching a language, then, focuses solely on the development of comprehension skills, including both listening and reading. Acquirers are required to show their developing comprehension ability in any of a number of ways, both non-verbally and in their native language, but they are not required or even especially encouraged to try to speak or write in the language being acquired. And whenever the acquirer does produce utterances in the new language, the teacher is to engage in no error-correction. Instead, the teacher is to ensure that the acquirer receives comprehensible and well-formed input, regardless of the well-formedness of the acquirer's output (Krashen, 1981a).

Harris Winitz has provided a useful brief description of the key methods associated with the comprehension approach, minus the affective, motivational factors which have more to do with the setting and the background characteristics of the acquirers than with the design of instructional materials (Winitz, 1981, p. xiii):

> Listening comprehension is stressed. Students are given an opportunity to acquire the grammar of a second language by acquiring a fundamental understanding of the language. Initially the student hears sentences in the second language for which the meaning is clearly indicated through actions or pictures. All sentences are spoken by native speakers. Lexical items and grammatical units are carefully programmed to maximize implicit learning. The umbrella term for this instructional system is the comprehension approach. It differs significantly from other methods in the value placed on speaking exercises. Production drills and preplanned dialogues or artificially generated conversations are not used. Conversation is not discouraged. It simply is not taught. The belief is held that conversational fluency will develop as the result of learning to understand a language.

Pattern drills and pronunciation practice are replaced by a seemingly super-permissive acceptance of any output whatever, as long as it is intelligible in any way to the teacher, no matter how generous the teacher has to be. In fact, the main thing appears to be to keep the acquirer actively and communicatively involved in the teaching situation.

The instructional experiments so far (see Burline, 1982; and Winitz, 1981) have shown that the success of the comprehension approach is not entirely uniform. Instead, it seems that such success is directly proportional to the experimenter's success in devising instructional materials that are (1) not beyond the interpretive capacity of the acquirers but are at the same time (2) of compelling interest to them.

On the first point, Heidi Dulay, Marina Burt, and Stephen Krashen (1982) note that "The specification of principles governing learning complexity is probably one of the most important areas of theoretical research that remains to be undertaken" (p. 58). Despite this continuing uncertainty as to exactly what the best order of presentation is, experimenters have devised any number of ways to increase the degree of difficulty of presented material in a graded manner. These have ranged from merely intuitive simplification of the teacher's speech in the classroom and in prepared materials to the ordered introduction of specific complexities of grammar and vocabulary (as gauged by order of mastery in child or adult language acquisition, see Dulay, et al., 1982) to the actual mixing of vocabulary and structures from the language being taught and a language already known to the acquirers (see Burling, 1978). The crucial issue seems to be simply that the acquirers' ongoing comprehension be sufficient to allow them to get the gist of what is being said so that their attention will be maintained. Krashen, for one, has now (personal communication) abandoned the idea that the order of presentation of material should be guided by any notions of structural complexity.

Turning, then, to the second point--the maximization of communicative involvement--experiments have been especially creative. The "Total Physical Response" method of James Asher (1977), for example, begins with the acting out of simple commands by acquirers from the very first day of class, with increasing complexity of non-verbal response thereafter. The late Valerian Postovsky (1981) recommended the "synchronized presentation of language material and pictorial events" (p. 176) followed by a multiple-choice selection among an array of pictures on the basis of a recorded utterance. Another way to capture acquirer interest is to present information relevant to the solution of simple problems exclusively in the language being acquired: problem-solving will thus be dependent upon accurate comprehension (see Winitz

& Reeds, 1975). A final and even more general strategy for the teacher to employ in selecting and ordering material for presentation is to present topics that make direct reference to issues in which the acquirers have a real personal interest or significant background knowledge (see various authors represented in Blair, 1983).

The empirical evidence for the effectiveness of the comprehension approach as described above is presented and discussed in the works I have cited. I will not rehearse it here. Nor will I discuss the issue of whem, how, and why to introduce production tasks, though I am prepared to suggest that some memorized phrases could be introduced at an early point to serve as models for acquirers to refer to when they choose to begin speaking (cf., Krashen & Terrell, 1983). Instead, I would like to turn now to the final point of this paper: why should it be that an approach that avoids explicit instruction in production skills manages to foster both production and comprehension skills?

Explaining the Success of the Comprehension Approach

Advocates of the comprehension approach offer a large number of explanations for the success of their approach. The simplest of these is that it is easier to teach acquirers to understand spoken and written language than it is to teach them to produce it. Acquirers thus acquire a greater amount of functional skill after a given amount of time and effort spent in acquiring comprehension skills than they acquire after that same amount of "mixed" training (see Scherer, 1952). This explanation from effectiveness is sometimes further defended on the grounds that the motivational and motor-coordination obstacles to speaking are too great to overcome in the early phases of language acquisition (Dulay, *et al*., 1982, p. 4). The success of the comprehension approach is, by this explanation, simply a result of the *dangers* of early production training. No mention is made of the rather mysterious fact that production skills appear to be developed in the comprehension approach. Failure to mention this leaves the approach open to the objection that if comprehension skills are so easy to acquire, perhaps what is most needed is to overcome the motivational and motor-coordination obstacles to speaking so that acquirers will speak as well as they understand.

One of the more theoretical explanations advanced in favor of the comprehension approach is neuroanatomical, and it takes two basic forms.

First, it is noted that early production training may result from the activation of a mimicry routine involving uncomprehending repetition of input via the direct activation of the motor speech area from the lowest level of receptive processing in the auditory cortex. That is, early (as well as later) speech output may be produced on the basis of less than adequate understanding of what is being produced (Diller, 1981). Early production training may result in good parroting instead of natural fluent output. Second, it is noted that comprehension skills may be represented in both the left and the right hemispheres of the cortex rather than in only the left hemisphere. This would mean that acquisition might take place faster, and perhaps with a greater involvement of the entire psyche of the acquirer, if instructon emphasized the bilaterally represented comprehension skills (Asher, 1981). Again, however, these neuroanatomical explanations fail to address the issue of how it is that production skills are developed via the comprehension approach.

Other explanations are more theoretical still. Putting comprehension first in instruction is seen to follow the "natural" example of first-language acquisition: children acquire comprehension skills before they acquire production skills (Asher, 1972). This primacy of comprehension is also seen to follow from the "logical" priority of comprehension: intelligible output is, for the most part, modelled in some way or other on some aspect of comprehended input; neologisms are neither prevalent nor long-lived. Yet again, of course, these explanations do not touch the question of why no explicit training in production is required or advisable.

I have no quarrel with any of the above explanations of the effectiveness of the comprehension approach. In fact, I am willing to believe that they all contribute to our developing theory of the nature of language and its acquisition. None of them, however, attempts to explain the production-developing aspects of the comprehension approach.

Remember that it is these aspects that teachers and acquirers are most likely to be concerned about. They believe that to acquire a language is to speak it. They consequently believe that one must from the very beginning concentrate heavily on how to produce the language. And they believe that for this purpose the mastery of conscious grammatical rules is essential. In the absence of any rationale for abandoning these two precepts, they are unlikely to be persuaded by merely empirical evidence, about which they have every right to be skeptical (especially given the dismal history of such allegedly empirical demonstrations in the area of applied linguistics). And Burling's (1982) remarks about the ability to correct one's output merely by trial-and-error, listening for the trial that "sounds right," seems hopelessly optimistic in the absence of a reason to believe that the acquirer will also have a basis for making appropriate corrections. Let's look now at the only reason anyone has thus far advanced for this phenomenomon.

Judith Olmsted Gary and Norman Gary (1981) have presented perhaps the most detailed theoretical rationale for "a much greater emphasis on listening comprehension in foreign language instruction." The reasons they offer for the production-developing effects of comprehension training are clearer than any others I have found (Gary & Gary, 1981, p. 2-3):

> The major differences between the encoding and decoding tasks--aside from the motor movements required for speech or writing--have to do with processing: information retrieval, short and long-term memory processes, control of speech of processing, etc. Also there are different strategies required in processing for comprehension and production. In production the speaker controls the structures and vocabulary used; thus a foreign language learner can use various paraphrastic devices when he is producing language, avoiding problematic lexical and grammatical structures. But when he is comprehending, he does not have this control; he must deal with an essentially open grammatical and lexical system. (Ingram, Nord, & Dragt, 1975)

Ironically, the observation that speakers can limit the processing difficulty of their output while listeners cannot similarly limit the processing difficulty of input appears to argue against the claim that listening is "easier" then speaking. This contradiction is lessened somewhat by the following observation (Gary & Gary, 1981, p. 3):

> . . . Speech requires linguistically more complex tasks than comprehension. Comprehension--at least at all but the most advanced levels--allows many linguistic signals to be ignored: redundant grammatical and semantic functions such as concord, definite/indefinite distinctions, singular/plural distinctions, etc., can very often be ignored without seriously distorting the message being comprehended.

The Gary's defense of the primacy of comprehension in language instruction is thus based on a recognition of the practical difficulties faced by speakers, plus some recognition of deeper processing differences between the various language tasks. This is no more than an encapsulation of the observations already presented in the present paper, with which I have no disagreement.

What I do find troubling is their explanation of the rapid and unforced emergence of production skills in later stages of language acquisition even when the instruction gives these skills no attention. In attempting to account for this phenomenon, they fall back on the now-standard notion of a language competence that is processually neutral (Gary & Gary, 1981, p. 2-3):

> In terms of linguistic competence, listening and speaking require the same kind of language knowledge, not two different kinds. The same set of rules is used in language comprehension as in language production. . . . Since the same set of rules underlies both speaking and listening, any instructional methodology which teaches the system will of necessity have effects on the total language competence.

Unfortunately, there is no empirical evidence to support the claim that language knowledge exists separately from knowledge of how, on the one hand, to process language input and how, on the other hand, to produce language output. In fact, there is no theory of such performance-neutral knowledge that can be used to test the claim that it can be used, even by an "ideal" listener-speaker, to accomplish anything whatsoever. Models of competence, and the theories from which they derive, are nothing more than abstract mathematical formalisms that are, at best, only heuristically valuable to those who are seeking to develop a theory of language knowledge (see Matthews, 1979).

Fortunately, there is an alternative to this failed line of explanation, and the Garys themselves have provided an entry into it in their observation that comprehension processing can often be successful even when many cues are ignored. In a very real sense, the current widespread emphasis on early production and on the manipulation of forms by means of consciously known linguistic rules encourages acquirers to produce utterances that exceed their own ability to comprehend: they literally don't know what they're saying.

What the Garys fail to realize is that the shortcuts to understanding that are evident in early comprehension ability provide strong reasons for developing very advanced comprehension skills before one starts producing output. Otherwise one is forced to create and manipulate language units in production before those units are needed in comprehension. Pursuit of this line of reasoning provides a very strong theoretical explanation for the success of the comprehension approach.

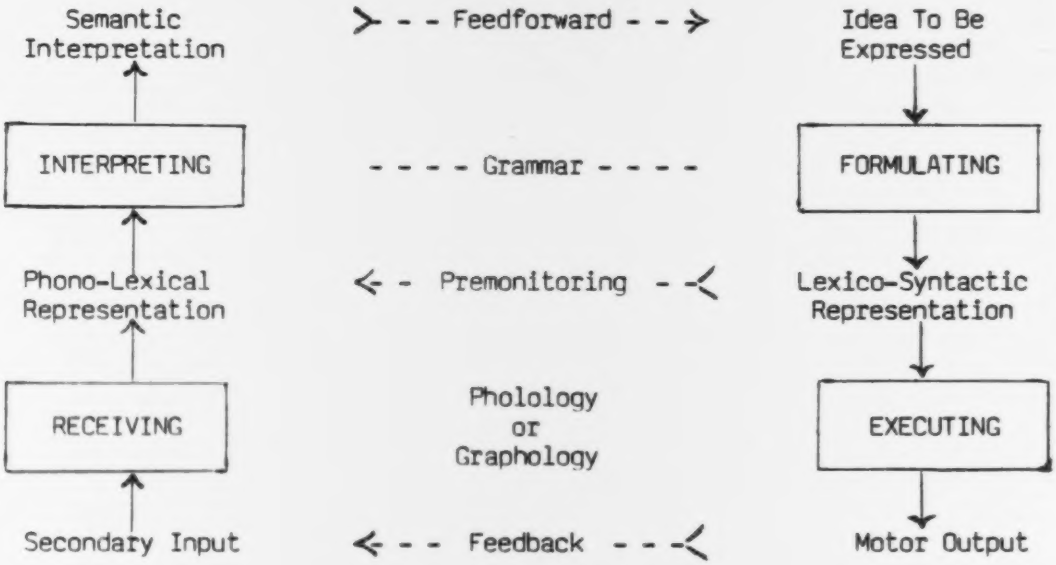
A Theory of Language and of Language Acquisition

The accompanying diagram is a model of the various components of language ability and how they interact with each other. This model finds no place for any sort of processing-neutral language knowledge. The labels Phonology and Grammar that appear in the diagram, then, do not refer to the usual sort of abstract rules posited by linguists. Instead, they label the pairs of components relating to the physical bases of speech (Phonology) versus the higher-order perceptual and cognitive processes that analyze language input and organize language output regardless of the physical channel being employed (Grammar).

In a similar manner, Graphology appears as an optional replacement for Phonology in order to have the diagram account also for reading and writing. If this were done, all the other labels could remain as they are, but--by implication--the Sensory Input would be visual (instead of auditory) and the Motor Output would be manual (instead of articulatory), and concomitant changes would be implied for the nature of the RECEIVING and EXECUTING processing components and also in some aspects of the higher-order levels of representation and processing (because spoken and written language are also grammatically distinct in various ways). In any case, though, the absolute separation of comprehension and production processes is retained.

On the other hand, these processes, however separate they are, do interact. At the lowest level, the motor output of the language producer typically results in sensory input to that same person as self-perceiver. This kind of reflexive processing is labelled "feedback" in the diagram. Higher up, but still at a rather concrete level of representation, where words and phrases are consciously available, language users are, of course, able to engage in anticipatory self-comprehension of language structures not yet executed as motor output. This internal feedback processing is labelled Premonitoring.

Language Processes and Their Interaction


Semantic Interpretation
Feedforward
Idea To Be Expressed
INTERPRETING
Grammar
FORMULATING
Phono-Lexical Representation
Premonitoring
Lexico-Syntactic Representation
RECEIVING
Pholology or Graphology
EXECUTING
Secondary Input
Feedback
Motor Output

Above the level of what is called Phono-Lexical and Lexico-Syntactic Representation are the processing components labelled INTERPRETING and FORMULATING. The output from the first and input to the second of these components are called Semantic Interpretation and Idea To Be Expressed, respectively. These, unlike the two forms of "Representation" are decidedly non-conscious. Listeners are aware of the words (the Phono-Lexical Representation) that someone has said, but they have no direct awareness of their meaning; instead, they are aware of verbal and other conscious representations that that representation evokes via Feedforward and other cognitive processes. Conversely, speakers may be aware of the superficial form (that is, the Lexico-Syntactic Representation) of what they are about to say, and they may be aware of a large number of different sorts of non-verbal impressions that may sometimes be related to what they are about to say, but they are not directly aware of the meaning of it any more than they are of the meaning of what someone else says. The process of premonitoring is thus a process of discovery, and even at that the only thing that is discovered is that what one is about to say leads one to think of saying other things, such as "No, that doesn't say what I mean," or "Yes, I did say that well." (See Straight, 1978, for a fuller discussion of the role of consciousness in all of this.)

I will not elaborate upon this model of language processes here. Instead, I will show briefly how the model meshes with the evidence for the primacy of comprehension skills in language acquisition.

Notice first that according to the model Premonitoring and Feedback are simply reflexive channels for the internal processing of formulated or executed structures. What you are thinking of saying serves as input directly into the INTERPRETING mechanism, and what you have already said serves as input directly into the RECEIVING mechanism. There is considerable evidence from studies of flawed auditory feedback and dysphasic symptoms that this kind of internal processing is essential to the production of well-formed language structures (see Straight, 1976, for expansion of these observations). When people, for whatever reason, are prevented from hearing their speech output in the usual manner, that output becomes phonetically distorted. Similarly, when a brain-damaged patient exhibits an inability to comprehend language input, that patient's language output shows considerable semantic distortion, even though it may be phonetically fluent (e.g., Kertesz, 1982).

Accurate production of language output, whether actual or merely anticipated thus depends crucially on properly functioning feedback and premonitoring mechanisms. The correct functioning of these mechanisms depends in turn upon the presence and correct functioning of comprehension mechanisms, whether those that apply to sensory input (RECEIVING) or those that apply to recognized phono-lexical phrases (INTERPRETING). It follows automatically that production abilities develop most accurately and fully only after comprehension abilities are well established. The model of language processes presented here thus argues strongly for putting comprehension ahead of production in language instruction.

But why is specific training in production not necessary in order for language acquirers to develop their production skills? The solution to this puzzle may, I believe, come from a careful consideration of the role of

Feedforward. Feedforward is the series of processes that are applied to the results of interpretive processing to arrive at the various associations, implications, and possible supportive or conflicting reponses that might be given to those interpretations. It is also the basis for the anticipation of what a speaker is going to say next that plays such an important role in fluent comprehension (see Straight, 1982).

James Nord (1981) has provided perhaps the best previous discussion of the role of Feedforward in language acquisition. Acquirers, he observes, go through an "Anticipatory Feed Forward Phase" in the development of listening fluency. His description of the techniques that have been found useful in developing such anticipatory skills includes one (described in Landis, 1978, and Mackey, 1971) that is particularly intersting (pp. 90-91):

> The teacher speaks only in the target language, but the student can speak in whichever language he or she feels comfortable. . . . If the teacher is a native or near native speaker of French, students will always be hearing native French. They will not be spending half of the classtime listening to the poor pronunciation and grammatical misconceptions of their classmates, which is usually the case in classes in which speaking the target language is emphasized. This type of bilingual conversation can also be used with language tutors who have a poor speaking ability in English. If the tutors can comprehend enough English to maintain discussion, they can carry on a bilingual conversation. This way both the student and the tutor can increase their listening fluency in the new language while speaking in their own native tongue. It makes it easier on both parties, it develops the language competence through listening, and it is more interesting to both tutor and student because they can express themselves much better in their own tongue. Most importantly, they can discuss topics they are interested in, control the conversation more, and thus anticipate responses from other speakers.

What this means is that until such time as one has acquired relatively accurate and complete abilities to arrive at Semantic Interpretations of the Sensory Input one is receiving, it will not be possible even to come up with appropriate Ideas To Be Expressed, not even in one's first language, to say nothing of a language one is just beginning to acquire. However, once one does begin to have such ideas, the possibility for FORMULATING language (and other) responses emerges naturally in the course of anticipating other speakers' utterances in ongoing listening. At that point, the attempts one makes to begin creating comprehensible Motor Output occur in a fully informed and self-monitored manner, without artificial, meaningless parroting.

Furthermore, because the processes of RECEIVING and INTERPRETING are being corrected through constant implicit testing of comprehension, the acquirer's output requires no special intervention on the part of the teacher other than to respond as a normal participant in communicative interaction with the acquirer who is trying to speak. Following Nord (1981) again, it appears that if acquirers are allowed to develop their comprehension fluency first, instead of developing bad habits through premature attempts to produce, they will naturally reach a "Discrepancy Feedback Phase" in which they "can detect discrepancies and errors because they sound wrong" (p. 93). This is, of course, simply another way of describing what Burling (1982) calls "sounding right." Nord concludes that under such circumstances "speaking skills should come very rapidly without specific speaking instruction because the trained listening ear serves as a self-monitor" (p. 98). Overt correction is unnecessary: between the aqcquirer's own self-monitoring and the evidence of failed production that is implicit in the teacher's (or other listener's) misunderstanding or incomprehension, the acquirer needs nothing more to develop production abilities.

Full productive language ability develops therefore as a virtually automatic by-product of the development of fluent comprehension processes through exposure to high-quality input presented in comprehensible contexts. The paradox engendered by the success of the comprehension approach to language instruction disappears in a theory of language processes that makes a clear separation among the components that constitute language ability while emphasizing the ways in which these components interact in the ongoing comprehension, production, and acquisition of language.

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NOTE

This paper is to a great extent a restatement and elaboration of ideas presented in a paper entitled "Goals, Method, and Theory in Language Instruction" (Straight, in press). For making it clear that those ideas needed restating, while also encouraging their elaboration, I am grateful to the students in psycholinguistics and second language acquisition at SUNY-Binghamton in 1983-84 and my colleague Richard E. Boswell (who let me teach the second language acquisition course with him in Spring 1984). Their comprehensible input regarding the ideas developed here forced me to clear up some fuzzy points, discard some erroneous ones, and generally to think things through more clearly and with a broader range of practical issues in mind. All remaining faults and gaps are, of course, entirely my responsibility.

TESOL and Approaches to the Development of Communicative Proficiency

Richard Light

For some time now diversity has been the name of the game in the field of teaching English to speakers of other languages. The diversity has been evident in both syllabus design and in teaching methodologies. Yet within this diversity there has been an implicit underlying commonality. Whether the activities were found in audiolingual methodology, in Community Language Learning, in the Silent Way, in the transformational cognitive approach, or in communicative language teaching, they all implied the common goal of enabling the learner to participate in a meaningful way in the linguistic and cultural activities of English-speaking people. At least implicitly, these approaches were aimed at allowing learners to achieve communicative proficiency. It most often was in the means not the aims that such approaches differed significantly. Our purpose here will be to examine and bring some order to this diversity of activities and materials in TESOL. We will do this by utilizing a number of concepts from the literature which will help out TESOL activities in perspective in terms of their effectiveness in leading learners toward the goal of communicative proficiency. A brief historical note should help us achieve some of this perspective.

Perhaps more than any other language teaching field, we in TESOL seem to enjoy experimenting with new approaches, methods, and techniques in our classrooms. Historically, this also seems to have been the case. To quote a leading British methodologist commenting on the state of the art back in 1899: "Things are altogether unsettled regarding language teaching methods and materials"; he regarded this diversity as a good sign since it gave promise of "the survival of the fittest" (Sweet, 1899/1964). Somewhat later in the 1920s, another leading TESOL methodologist suggested that "if we were to ask a hundred different language teachers to design what each considered an ideal EFL course or textbook, the results would be a hundred different courses, most differing from others in fundamental ways" (Palmer, 1921/1964). Forty years later, in 1965, another leading methodologist listed fifteen "most common" language teaching methods in use, including those methods labeled Direct, Natural, Psychological, Phonetic, Reading, Grammar, Translation,

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Grammar-Translation, Eclectic, Unit, Language Control, Mimicry-Memorization, Practice-Theory, Cognate, and Dual Language (Mackey, 1965). Although in a state of the art report just a few years ago it was suggested that "there is less uncertainty today regarding the state of the art in TESOL arising from the ferment in linguistics, psychology and pedagogy" (Paulston, 1975), others continue to see the diversity noted by Sweet back in 1899. Lado (1981), for example, noted that the challenge to the applied linguistics model of the 1940s and 1950s by the Chomskyian revolution in linguistics left a theoretical void which produced, as Lado put it, the "plethora of methodological proposals in the 1970s." In addition, the challenges to "standard" audiolingual and cognitive-code language teaching methodologies by (among others) Community Language Learning (Curran, 1976), by the Silent Way (Gattegno, 1976), by applications of values clarification to second language teaching (Moskowitz, 1978), and by leading British advocates of communicative approaches such as Brumfit (1979) and Johnson (1982), have all contributed to the diversity of second language teaching activities now current in TESOL classrooms.

To further illustrate this diversity we might suggest a list of currently prevalent activities and ideas. The list is almost open ended but might include at least the following: audiolingual approach, counseling-learning approach, strip story, Silent Way, conversation circle, values clarification, Islamabad technique, sentence combining, communicative approach, language experience approach, information gap, natural approach, task dependency, Greek Machine exercise, cuisinaire rods, the human computer technique, and so forth. Of course we could go on and you could make up your own list of activities and ideas current in TESOL. In order to assist us in achieving perspectives on these activities and to assist us in making sense of what Altman (1981) has called "an era of curricular and pedagogical overchoice" in TESOL, it should help to examine the activities through some categories related to second language teaching and to the development of communicative proficiency. The set of categories which follows is not exhaustive, but rather is intended to be suggestive of some perspectives which might prove helpful in discussing TESOL activities which aim at developing communicative proficiency.

One useful set of such categories worth recalling was first proposed by Anthony (1963). He suggested that we look at language teaching activities and the principles underlying them in terms of a hierarchical framework involving the categories approach, method, and technique. Approach, he suggested, is axiomatic, representing a set of beliefs about the nature of learning and the nature of language. Approach states a point of view, a philosophy--something one believes but cannot necessarily prove. Applying this to our list of activities in second language teaching we would suggest that the natural approach, counseling-learning, Silent Way, transformational-cognitive, and audiolingual are approaches rooted respectively in beliefs regarding the relative importance of second language acquisition theory, humanism, a personal philosophy, cognitivism, and behaviorism in explaining facts about learning. These approaches are discussed in detail in Krashen and Terrell (1983), Curran (1976), Gattegno (1976), Stevick (1971) and Lado (1964). The "pure" communicative approach, now receiving such wide attention, draws insight from research on second language acquisition, from sociolinguistics, and from functional syllabus design theory (Yalden, 1983). While approach is axiomatic in Anthony's hierarchy, the next concept--method--is procedural, and is consistent with the approach; it is an overall plan for teaching based on a given approach. Within this framework, community language learning is a method consistent with the counseling-learning approach. Krashen and Terrell's (1983) "natural method" would be included under the natural approach and Johnson's (1982) communicative methodology would be included under the communicative approach. The use of the mimicry-memorization method is one generally associated with an audiolingual approach to second language teaching and behaviorist views of learning. Following method in Anthony's scheme of analysis is the most specific category, that of technique. A technique is implementational and is consistent with a method. It is what actually takes place in the classroom in terms of actions and technologies to accomplish immediate objectives. From our list then we would include under technique the information gap and task dependency usually associated with a communicative approach, the conversation circle usually associated with community language learning, and the use of cuisinaire rods in the Silent Way. The concepts of approach, method and technique then do provide us with one useful set of lenses through which to view the diversity of ideas current in second language teaching.

Another set of concepts, perhaps somewhat less clearly definable, is that of learner-centered activities and teacher-centered activities in the language classroom. It is a commonplace for us now to discuss learner-centered instruction, but Louis Kelly in his comprehensive book Twenty-Five Centuries of Language Teaching does not discuss the distinction at all and he certainly does not discuss communicative language teaching. One is tempted to draw the conclusion that for 2,500 years, from 500 B.C. to 1969 (the date of Kelly's book), teacher-centered activities dominated the second language classrooms of the world. This may still be a true picture of most classrooms in the world, yet in ESL in this country at any rate, the learner-centered classroom is receiving more attention, especially in approaches such as counseling-learning and its application in community language learning, as well as in the communicative approach. So the notions of learner-centered and teacher-centered classes (though necessarily somewhat loosely defined) nonetheless are useful in helping us sort our characteristics of the items on our list. They prove helpful, for example, in attempting to answer questions such as which of the approaches, methods, and techniques currently available allow for one or the other emphasis in the classroom. The "human computer" technique noted above, for example, allows the learner to control pattern practice activities in the classroom by indicating to the teacher which sentences he wants modeled for practice.

In making choices about activities which allow for nontraditional, learner-centered communicative activities in the classroom, we must of course keep in mind learner expectations regarding appropriate classroom roles for teachers and learners. Although one may adopt what Allwright (1980) has labeled the "cheerful steamroller" attitude in overcoming student hesitations about unfamiliar learner-centered activities, we discovered in a recent Fulbright Program at Peking University that introduction of some non-traditional learner-centered techniques in traditional teacher-centered settings may result in only qualified success as measured by learner reactions to such techniques (Light, 1981). That is, learners were responsive to "small group activities" when presented as part of a coherent approach such as community language learning but less receptive to small group work in isolation from such an approach.

Another set of concepts that we found useful in applying to our list was that of skill-getting and skill-using, two terms discussed at some length by Rivers and Temperley (1978). Skill-getting has traditionally involved teacher-directed activities such as repetition drills, pattern drills and dialogue recitation. Skill-using on the other hand involved student-initiated language exchanges for real communicative purposes. These concepts do help in making sense of our list, but like the others must be applied with caution. For example, one might assume that the skill-getting takes place primarily in a teacher-centered, teacher-directed atmosphere, while skill-using happens some time later, mainly in a student-centered atmosphere with student-initiated language use. However, this is a somewhat oversimplified view, as we discover when we examine our list through these two lenses. For example, in a conversation circle technique, which involves student-initiated but teacher-assisted language use, skill-getting and skill-using are closely intertwined. In this technique the student uses the target language immediately for real communication, but skill-getting takes place almost simultaneously as the teacher assists by modeling the language the student has chosen. Thus this student-centered conversation circle technique allows for both skill-getting and skill-using to proceed hand in hand.

We used the phrase "real communicative purposes" above. If there is one current trend in second language teaching upon which virtually all TESOL specialists appear to agree it is the need for learners to use English for "real communication" both in the classroom and outside it in order to achieve communicative proficiency. It may be labeled "real" (as distinguished from "realistic") language use (Stevick, 1971), it may be language used to discuss "real reality" as distinguished from "simulated reality" (Taylor, 1982) or it may be "communicative" activities ad distinguished from mechanical or meaningful activities (Paulston & Bruder, 1976), but all agree it is crucial to allowing learners to develop their communicative proficiency. One useful set of terms for putting "communicative" activities into perspective was developed by Paulston and Bruder (1976) who suggest a distinction among mechanical, meaningful and communicative activities. Mechanical activities or drill are those which can be done by students without necessarily understanding the language they are using in the drill. Included here are repetition drills and your everyday garden variety substitution drills using verbal cues. Students may "successfully" participate in these drills without understanding them. Meaningful drills on the other hand are those requiring at least partial understanding in order to successfully do the drills, as when visual cues are used requiring the student to link language with pictures or realia during the drills. Communicative activities as defined by Paulston and Bruder, require students to use the target language to exchange new information, including stating facts, predictions, opinions, and so forth; the sort of things we normally use language for. Note, however, that as Paulston and Bruder observe, their communicative activities in that sense are still drills since the teacher controls the activity. Paying attention to this set of categories enables us to focus on the relative importance of these types of activities in a given ESOL classroom or lesson. Some methodologies call for a relatively minor role for communicative activities. Paulston and Bruder's (1976) eight-step model for a grammar lesson, for example, includes a communicative activity as the eighth and last step, following such traditional steps as "presenting the dialogue," "asking comprehension questions," "giving grammatical explanations" and doing mechanical and then meaningful drills.

Others have called for a reversal of this practice-first and communicate-later format. It has been suggested that an ESOL program "should be based on content and real issues" (Taylor, 1982); that we should "adopt a communicative orientation" to the teaching of ESOL (Widdowson, 1978) and that we should be "reorienting language teaching toward communication, not just because the eventual aim is communication but because communication practice can be expected to develop linguistic skills" (Allwright, 1979). But whatever part we choose to have communicative activities play in our classrooms, the three-way distinction among mechanical, meaningful and communicative activities is a useful one for us to consider as we examine our teaching.

Related to this distinction and to increased interest in communicative use of language in the classroom are the concepts of real and realistic use of language suggested by Stevick (1971) and Taylor's (1982) analogous use of the terms "simulated reality" and "real reality." "Realistic" language use or "simulated reality" involves such classroom activities as discussion of pictured situations, role plays, and many traditional audiolingual activities. "Real" language use or "real reality" in the classroom, on the other hand, involves focus on discussion of real issues and real-life situations, and includes opportunities for students to do such things as describe events, express opinions, or accomplish specific tasks. A number of specific activities involving this kind of language use have been suggested by Rivers (1983). These include eliciting student reactions to a slide show or television show, problem solving, displaying one's achievements, and giving opinions.

Support for this emphasis upon communication has come not only from informed opinion in the literature but also from an extensive review of the research on second language learning. Carroll (1974), after reviewing some one hundred thirty research studies on second language learning and teaching concluded among other things that instruction should be "as meaningful as possible" and should "come alive in meaningful communication situations" (p. 143). Given this current well-reasoned emphasis on communication in the classroom, the distinction between real and realistic, or simulated reality and real reality, by whatever label, would appear to be a helpful one to add to our set of categories for sorting out language classroom activities. Providing for a focus on real language use are such activities in our initial list as the conversation circle, values clarification activities, and the exotic-sounding Islamabad technique, actually a student-originated, teacher-directed language activity using cuisinaire rods in a counseling-learning atmosphere, first discussed by Stevick (1980).

Since it illustrates aspects of both the Silent Way and counseling-learning, the Islamabad technique is worth describing here. In this technique a student describes a city or other place no one else in the class has ever seen, representing each sentence with a cuisinaire rod. The teacher then retells the description asking the student for help where needed. The rest of the class watches and listens, the concreteness of the rods providing a visual focus for their concentration and their imagination. The teacher's retelling serves to allow the learners to hear the description again in a natural, native voice. Other students then take turns pointing to the rods and telling things they remember from the account. Finally, the other students ask the originator questions about the city or other place he has described. As Stevick (1980) notes, this technique promotes communication and allows people "to do something together." The originator has contributed "real" facts; the teacher has contributed guidance, a non-judgmental counseling attitude, and whatever words the originator needed. The student-generated language that comes out of this technique (as with language coming out of other techniques) can be fed into many other activities. It can be recorded on tape, transcribed by students or teacher, written on a handout for discussion at the next class session, used as material for dictation, used as the basis for grammatical exercises, and so forth. So this is one of the several techniques on our list which allows for a focus on communication, may be considered learner-centered, and reverses the traditional lesson format of practice first, communicate later.

Another helpful distinction to consider is that between language use in teaching settings and language use in non-teaching settings. As suggested by Fanselow (1978, and forthcoming) the distinction encourages us to describe and compare the patterns of communication in the two settings and to determine the extent to which the purposes for which we have students use language in the classroom are congruent with purposes for which they will use language outside of the classroom. Utilizing a coding system to classify purposes (structuring, soliciting, reacting and responding) and sources (teacher or student) in the classroom setting and in other settings, Fanselow found that there was indeed incongruence between purposes used in the two types of settings. (Soliciting and responding accounted for two-thirds of the communications in teaching settings while reacting accounted for two-thirds of the communication in non-teaching settings.) Fanselow suggested several activities which help to restore congruity between in-class and out-of-class purposes for language use, and also maintain the focus on communication we have been discussing as a major trend in TESOL. His suggestions include providing an opprtunity for students to teach a class about some topic on which they are informed; having students interviewing other students to elicit opinions about a relevant topic; communicating in small groups to accomplish some assigned task; having students assume the role of observer and reporter of some activity in or outside of the class. As with other techniques, follow-up activities involving recording and further use of students' language generated in these activities would allow communication to remain the initial focus of the lesson, with various types of practice activities introduced later. Further elaboration upon activities for second language learners in non-teaching settings is provided by LoCastro and Laporte (1981) who discuss "non-classroom learning environments" as opportunities for changing traditional TESOL interaction patterns. Community-based tasks such as obtaining information about specific merchandise and prices in a particular store, locating a particular place by asking questions in the target community, and taking field trips to student-suggested areas of interest with specific pre- and post-trip language activities are all suggested as complementary to a regular ESL classroom.

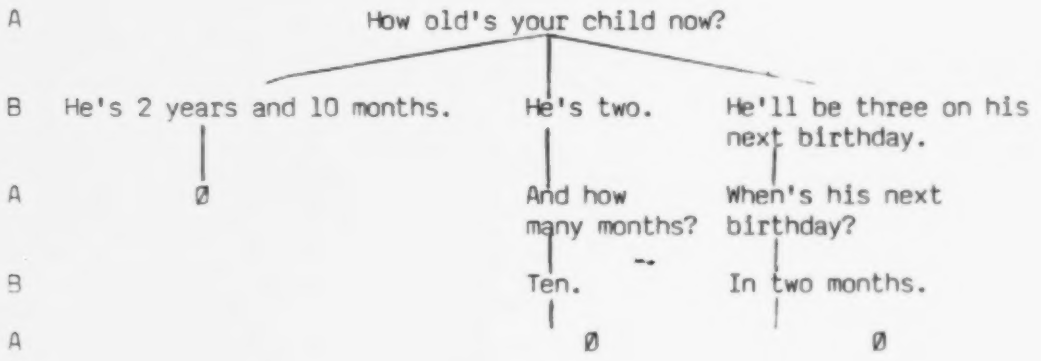
What we have said thus far, and what the title of this conference suggests, is that communicative language teaching is a trend in second language teaching that is powerful and perhaps relatively (as such things go in language teaching) permanent. Thus it would seem worthwhile to explore briefly some developments leading to this trend. Among the most influential ideas supporting this trend are those coming from the sociolinguistic tradition (e.g., Hymes, 1979), from the study of second language acquisition (e.g., Dulay, Burt, & Krashen, 1981) among others, and from language teachers themselves, such as Leonard Newmark (1979). One of the earliest and most persuasive arguments for the need to rethink the language activities in vogue during the heyday of ALM was that made by Newmark in "How Not to Interfere with Language Learning." In this early reaction against audiolingualism, Newmark's most telling observation concerns the nature of ordinary everyday language use and how far removed from this was ALM orthodoxy. As he expressed it, a student may know:

> the structure that the linguist teaches, (yet) cannot know that the way to get his cigarette lit by a stranger when he has no matches is to walk up to him and say one or utterances "Do you have a light?" or "Got a match?" (not one of the equally well-formed questions, "Do you have a fire?", or "Do you have illumination?" or "Are you a match's owner?").

In other words, as many have been observing ever since, it is one thing to learn language patterns in the classroom and quite another to use them effectively and appropriately to get things done in the real world outside the classroom. Response to this problem of teaching appropriate language use for communicative purposes has been the development of what has come to be called communicative language teaching (CLT).

In attempting to meet this challenge, CLT has developed along two quite distinct lines. One set of developments has taken place in the area of syllabus design, led by the works of Van Ek (1975) and others which have led to the semantic or functional syllabus. The other major set of developments connected with CLT has been in language teaching methodology, led by such specialists as Allwright (1979), Rivers (1983), and Johnson (1982).

Central to one view of CLT is the suggestion that language teaching should be "task oriented." The following view of interactions between speakers has been advanced by Johnson (1982) to support emphasis on communicative activities in the classroom.


A
How old's your child now?
B
He's 2 years and 10 months.
He's two.
He'll be three on his next birthday.
A
0
And how many months?
When's his next birthday?
B
Ten.
In two months.
A
0
0

A's aim is to find oub B's child's age in years and months; that is the purpose of the communication. What is outlined are possible sequences of interactions. There are at least three processes which A must undertake if he is to achieve his purposes. 1) He must compare the information given with his internal purpose; 2) he must identify any mismatch and act to reduce the mismatch and 3) formulate a response. These three processes must occur quickly and the ability to achieve this results in what we call fluency. The teaching of fluency thus must involve practice in these processes.

The central implication of the nature of these communicative processes is that they can be effectively practiced in a language teaching setting which is "task oriented." We must, according to this view, provide learners with a purpose for evaluating incoming information. This then is one central characteristic of communicative language teaching--that there be a task dependency involved in the classroom activity. An example of such a characteristic in action is provided by Johnson (1982). According to this view, we create whenever possible a Task 2 which can only be done if Task 1 has been successfully completed. An example is provided by the Greek Machine Exercise (Johnson, 1981). Instructions for this activity are as follows:

> Many inventions were made in the ancient world. Students work in pairs. Student A looks at the diagram of an Egyptian invention on page 107. Student B looks at the diagram of a Greek machine on page 105. Each student writes a description of their machine. Then they exchange descriptions and each must draw a diagram of the other's machine. If the diagram is wrong, student makes description clearer, so the diagram is correct. (Johnson, 1981)

This particular activity is designed primarily for advanced students, but it exemplifies a productive sequence which may be used at a variety of levels.

In addition to illustrating task dependency, this sequence involves several other "principles" which Johnson (1982) considers appropriate for a communictive language classroom. These are as follows:

Information Transfer Principle. Since a central characteristic of CLT is that it focuses attention on the ability to understand and convey information, the concept of information transfer is an important one in CLT exercises. An example of such an exercise is the following:

> Look at the following two letters. They contain information about the two people who want to join the Albany Country Club. Fill in the application forms based on the letters:

LETTER	LETTER
APPLICATION FORM	APPLICATION FORM

A similar exercise could be done for practicing listening comporehension with the initial information given via taped dialogues. (A modification of this technique, utilizing videotaped dialogues might be used to inform learners about how Americans signal moods or functions via verbal and non-verbal cues.)

The Information Gap Principle. Activities in which this principle operates must include what has been called a "native receiver"--that is a person who does not initially possess the information needed to successfully complete an activity and who receives it by means of spoken or written communication. In the Greek Machine exercise noted above, this occurs when a pair of students exchange their written descriptions of different diagrams, and on the basis of these descriptions draw a previously unknown diagram.

The Correction for Content Principle. This suggests that just as communicative practice of productive skills should deal with the conveying of information, so communicative correction of production skills should assess whether information content has been correctly conveyed. This is again exemplified in the Greek Machine exercise. Students are writing their descriptions for each other knowing that their written work will be assessed initially not for grammatical correctness by the teacher, but rather for communictive adequacy by their partner in production of a diagram. That is, it is initially being regarded as a product of use rather than usage. Thus in the Greek Machine exercise, students receive feedback on the communicative effectiveness of their written work. (This principle does not negate the utility of teacher correction for grammatical accuracy at some other stage.)

Syllabus design is the second aspect of language teaching to be affected by the emphasis on communicative language teaching. A syllabus in its simplest form may be considered a list of items to teach and some order in which they are to be taught. In a syllabus which is responsive to the concerns of a communicative classroom the organization is often around language functions, or "uses to which the language may be put." The current popularity in TESOL of the functional syllabus, with its emphasis upon getting things done with language, can in large measure be traced to such educators as Newmark, noted earlier. Such observers noted that the structurally-based syllabus of ALM and cognitive-code methodology were less than adequate to enable learners to perform appropriately to get things done with language. In addition, such structural syllabi often took inadequate note of the social settings in which language operates, and thus left learners inadequately prepared to use language appropriately.

Publishers of ESOL textbooks in the United States and abroad have responded to these suggestions with a variety of books designed to focus upon communicative use of language. They have often done this by highlighting the terms functional or communicative in the title of the text, by selecting and organizing items to be taught in terms of functions rather than grammar, by providing sociolinguistic information for language activities, and by providing ample suggestions and opportunities for communicative activities. At the same time, many textbook writers have seemed reluctant to give up traditional activities entirely. Thus we still find language drills, grammar study, and utilization of dialogues in many texts which claim a functional or communicative approach to language teaching. Indeed one publisher has hedged bets so carefully that one of their texts includes all three syllabus types in its title--the subtitle reads "Grammar, Function and Setting."

In spite of this mixing of approaches to syllabus design, we see in many recent EFL texts a greater emphasis upon functional units and communicative activities than was evident several years ago. The following features characterize a number of the texts recently available:

- more information is provided about the situation in which language is used, including characteristics of the physical setting (restaurant, train station, etc.); on the roles and status of participants in the text; on mood, and attitudes expressed via intonation and vocabulary.
- problem-solving, role plays, community-based activities, and games are often an integral part of the text.
- provision is often made for communicative tasks to be assigned outside the classroom.
- formal comments are frequently available regarding style, appropriateness and attitudes conveyed by utterances.
- attempts have been made to develop materials responding to the special needs of specific groups of learners such as scientists.

To summarize: It seems clear that although the common goal implicit in most TESOL methodologies and materials is the development of communicative proficiency in ESL learners, there remains considerable diversity in activities currently utilized to achieve that goal. It seems just as clear that there is a strong contemporary trend toward activities and materials with more explicit emphasis upon teaching aspects of communicative use of languages. Developments in sociolinguistics, in syllabus design theory, in communication theory, and in pedagogy are likely to continue to provide the impetus for this emphasis upon communication in second language teaching. It seems just as likely that even as background knowledge is expanded, and as teaching activities are refined, the diversity of methods and materials in TESOL will continue to enliven our classrooms.

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Using Culture to Teach Languages

Henry Feguson

"Using culture to teach language" is the topic listed against my name on the program. I had thought it was "using language to teach culture." The difference appears profound, but the more I put my mind to it, the less able I have been to establish a clear pedagogical distinction between the two challenges.

I am a social scientist, trained as a scholar of social and economic history. My principal experience has been in India where I have studied modern administrative systems and the values that affect them. Concentrating on values leads you very close to the heart of a culture, and indeed I do believe I caught the beat of India's cultural pulse. But as I cannot effectively separate values from culture, so I cannot separate language from culture. Language is the unique vehicle of culture. Culture without language is animal behavior; language without culture is inconceivable.

We must, I feel, regard language learning as a form of cultural learning, and the opposite as well: cultural learning must embrace language learning.

Working from this hypothesis, however, my observations have led me to conclude that we don't do very well teaching culture in a language learning context nor teaching language in a culture-learning context.

First, I believe our academic social disciplines have certain fundamental constraints that make them inadequate for effective cultural learning. The contemporary social sciences emerged from modern western cultures. When I pursued field research on district administration in India and the values which affected its conduct, I discovered that the questions I drew up from my training as a social scientist and the analytical devices I used so facilely were inappropriate to the cultural context in which I was operating. While tipping my hat to the anthropologists who attempt so diligently to avoid biasing their observations from their own cultural perspective, I believe that a quantum physics applies to all social sciences: the observation of the observer itself changes the nature of the reality. Thus the closer the student could get to conditioning his observations to the culture under scrutiny, and the closer the exposition of those observations to the native

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expression of the culture, the more reliable and accurate the study may seem. We are satisfied by the appearance of reality.

I am afraid that the reality of the American school or college curriculum, however, makes it unlikely that such reliability can be achieved and transmitted to students of other cultures. The vocabulary of the social sciences and the social studies is western, the process of scholarship is largely an American cultural phenomenon. The conversion of observations of a non-Western culture into this vocabulary inevitably distorts its reality. Thus I believe that our social sciences as they are presently conducted are disqualified from teaching culture. I hasten to add that I believe it well within the range of human grasp to rearrange our curriculum and our teaching and learning methods to achieve effective cultural learning.

As a cross-cultural trainer between my days of field research in India and my present position as an administrator, I sought to achieve more pertinent and effective cultural learning through use of structured experiences. The expository fashion of most American education barely scratches the surface of a culture and provides no effective checks on ethnocentric perceptions, especially use of stereotypes. The experiences I have worked with have been both of the contrast-American and the culture-specific variety, but in both methods the goal was to help a person crawl inside a culture other than his or her own and to perceive it as closely as possible on its own terms, from its own perspective. In such an approach, it is much more difficult to separate out what is language-learning and what is social science. Only the motives and the specialized goals of the language scholar or the social scientist would create a separation between language and culture in this kind of learning.

In my view, the goal of cultural learning is a continuing search for understanding that bridges cultures: my culture, thy culture, our culture, their culture. Language can be a bridge. If language learning is a barrier, overcome it. The artificial separation of the disciplines of language and linguistics on the one hand and the social sciences on the other may well be one of the more formidable obstacles to cultural learning.

Are we teaching language in our "language" instruction? If we were indeed teaching language, we would be serving the goal of cultural learning. There is clear evidence that we are not teaching language. We are teaching speech. Or we are teaching literature.

Speech is an act or a process (Hymes, 1961). Speech is transmission of a message. Speech is observable behavior. That is why it is so easy to teach.

Language, on the other hand, is a structure, a pattern, a system. Language is a coding system. Language is a set of habits. Language is not only words, it is motion, gesture: proximics and kinesics--where you stand and how you gesture at each other.

Language is particularly a system of encoding and decoding perceptible reality and abstractions. Abstractions assume reality only in language and in art. Language, to use Spradley's conception (1979), is a tool for constructing reality, not for merely communicating about reality. Yet in our language teaching, it seems to me an outsider whom I suppose can be critical, that we are teaching communication about reality rather than use of language for constructing reality. Different languages create and express different realities, alternative patterns for ways of thinking and perceiving that are shared by members of that culture.

Thus, to quote Brislin and Pedersen (1976), "Knowing a little of the foreign language may allow a person to make a 'fluent fool' of himself if he is unaware of the implicit meanings behind those symbols." And yet, in listening to the discussions today, both formal and informal, I have a feeling we've been spending too much time and effort on the symbols and not on the meanings behind the symbols.

Those meanings are appraochable only if we penetrate behind speech and learn language. Language is the vehicle culture, culture is the burden for the language vehicle.

Let us define culture. I have collected definitions of culture for years. Kroebner and Kluckhohn (1952) collected one hundred and sixty definitions. At this point, I have many more than that. Here are a few samples:

> Culture is the daily living and value system of a people. (Morain, 1983)
>
> Culture is the acquired knowledge that people use to interpret experience and generate social behavior. (Spradley, 1979)

> Culture is the man-made part of the environment. (Herskovits, 1955)
>
> Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. (Taylor, 1871)
>
> Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifcats; the essential core of culture consists of traditional ideas and especially their attached values. (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952)

Edward T. Hall, who happens to be a hero of mine, said in his brilliant book, Beyond Culture (1977): culture is ". . . not innate, but learned; the various facets of culture are interrelated--you touch a culture in one place and everything else is affected; it is shared and in effect defines the boundaries of different groups."

I heard that B. F. Skinner (who is not a hero of mine) said that culture is "man-enclosed time and space." A pretty nifty definition when you think about it. (Alas, I do not have a citation for this.)

My own definition comes from my experience in South Asia. I believe that the Sanskrit word, dharma, accurately expresses what we mean by "culture." Dharma means law, custom, tradition, ritual. It is the only Sanskrit word which comprehends what we mean by "religion."

But it is also the word for "fate," "destiny." You are what you are. You are the product and the creature of your dharma. Dharma provides your own identity in the culture, and your only identity in the culture because dharma is associated with your family, your extended kin-group, which is by definition a religious, value-oriented group.

In American education generally, we have tended to deal with only a small part of culture, and if you look at the curriculum even in our new New York State syllabus, we really don't touch non-American cultures to any really great extent. The new 9th and 10th grade social studies framework is Asia, Africa, Latin America, Eastern and Western Europe. But really that's the only place in thirteen years of school where we really give kids an exposure to cultures other than the American and the Western European, except insofar as some rubs off in our language learning contexts. (But let's face it, most precollegiate languages are European except for a smattering of Central or South American material in Spanish language courses.) Worse, most history teachers cut it off in 1945 before the Third World gained independence. Maybe they get up to the Cuban missile crisis, but for all intents and purposes, we're leaving out everything that's happened in the world in the last 20, 30, 40 years when Europe and America began to admit Asian and African nations to share world hegemony.

Incredible but true. We teach American culture as culture. Small wonder our students can't recognize their ethnocentrism.

If you take a fuller description of culture, like that of Harry Triandas, and examine how well we address this kind of culture learning, you'll see how short our instruction falls. Triandas (1983) says of culture:

> It has both objective elements (tools, roads, pots) and subjective elements (norms, roles, values). It has structure (different elements are systematically related to each other) and function (it makes survival of humans more probable). Culture is one of the most important ways in which humans have adapted to the environment.

He goes on to identify the elements of culture:

patterns of dress
use of particular technologies and inventions
methods of economic activity
patterns of social interaction
patterns of educating the young
patterns of decision making and conflict resolution
beliefs and behaviors related to regulating the place humans have in the universe
behaviors that produce aesthetic satisfactions
behaviors that increase understanding--that is philosophy
behaviors that are required in communication

Just look at that list and see if we overtly and consciously--much less conscientiously--teach about much more than Triandas' objective elements. We learn vocabulary about dress and technologies (rooms, buildings, roads) and at least an everyday level of economic activity (markets) and, to a certain but limited extent, we do focus on patterns of social interaction. For the most part we leave out childrearing and education. We don't deal with decision making or conflict resolution, cosmology, philosophy, belief and communication in the broad sense. We tend, in short, to deal with accidents of culture, not substance.

Thus we produce students who really know too little of the language and too little of the culture to function effectively on either a personal or professional level when they are in that particular linguistic or cultural context. When we ship them to Francophone Africa, they are lost. We do not equip them to know or to deal with the "meta-messages" such as those conveyed by proximity or gesture.

Moreover, because we concentrate upon speech, we tend to perpetuate stereotypes and preconceptions, in spite of our very best intention to dispel them.

One of the curious, paradoxical aspectse of culture of course, is that we are ourselves creatures of our own culture. We have to break out of that culture. Or, to use Hall's title Beyond Culture, we have to rise above our own culture and see our culture through the eyes of other peoples in order to be able to understand it, just as we must first look in the mirror to be able to know how we look. I have said for years and years that you have to crawl inside another culture and experience it on its own terms in order to be able even to develop a basic empathy.

Empathy is a very misunderstood English word which does not mean: "Hey, those people are great!" It means projecting my personality, my ego, into another's and coming to understand how that other ego looks at its social and physical environment.

In conjunction with this, I should add that, from my experience with secondary school and undergraduate students, our two biggest problems are what I call the "Ho Hum" and "Yuk" syndromes.

The Ho Hum Syndrome is sheer apathy. They don't give a damn. And the Yuk Syndrome is: "Mom, what are we doing here at this Chinese restaurant when McDonald's is right next door?" We have to (a) motivate children suffering from these syndromes and (b) break them free from the prejudices and stereotypes which Judith Torney's work has illustrated are well established by the junior high years and other evidences that they are in place by the time kids enter kindergarten.

We have to begin to deal, in American language teaching, with something more than word equivalencies. We must deal with different ways of regarding and understanding reality. In fact, in a well-intentioned effort to introduce language learning to social studies materials, a unit of the State Educaton Department prepared a nice little table of word equivalencies between English, Italian, Spanish, French and German (*Families*, 1979). Fortunately, the list confined itself to Christian names and concrete objects and avoided abstractions like *love*, *marriage*, *happiness* and, indeed, *family* itself. This perpetuates the notion that all you have to do is to take an Egnlish word and convert it into a French word and there you've got it. Take "love." Take "family." If you take family in India, it doesn't just mean Mom, Pop and two kids. It means three to five generations living together, maybe with three or four different hearths but under one roof.

How about happiness? I've got to tell you a story: some big, high powered American media people went to India under a U.S. AID contract to work up a slogan for selling family planning. They worked very hard on this and finally laid it out for the Indians: "OK, here it is. 'A small family is a happy family.' Now translate that into Hindi." The Indians laughed and laughed because the translation would be "Chota ghar barra ghar hota hai"--or "A small family is a big family." The only phrase in Hindi that expresses what we Americans convey by "happiness" is "big family."

Equivalencies are insidious because they make students feel that all they have to do is learn new code words for familiar objects and ideas, when what they must really learn is the coding system.

For example, the Hindi word for "tomorrow" is *kal*, an easy equivalency. Alas, the word *kal* is also the Hindi word for yesterday. The words for the day before yesterday and the day after tomorrow are the same. How do you know the difference? Only by tense. It also tells you more about how it's difficult to get decisions made in Indian bureaucracy than any other single cultural feature I can cite. And if you explore deeper into the subtleties of Hindi and related languages, you'll discover that the logical system is not European: it has no law of the excluded middle. There is no sense of contradiction between a thing or idea and its opposite. Take that to the Planning Commission, and I ask you how they make decisions? Buried in the culture and in the language is an inability to recognize a decision crisis. If you don't understand this, you're going to be as frustrated as are most American businessmen and women who go to India.

What is important is the cultural construct of time which reflects an utterly foreign approach to reality from our own. Can we demolish preconceptions of India by merely teaching the equivalence? Tenses and comparative tenses tell a lot about concepts of time. Or do we need to go into the culture? We need rather to have the culture pervade what we convey as culture-specific (emic) or as universal (etic).

For the most part, aside from a few values like the sacredness of most human life, values tend to be emic rather than etic. And values determine norms and norms govern behavior. Therefore, the job of the cross-cultural trainer like myself is to try to lead an American to an understanding of a larger part of the set of norms of the other culture so that when they get there they are able to avoid misinterpreting the motives of the other person and the norms that influence the other person's behavior.

Furthermore, we fail to limit or eliminate approval or disapproval to the content of communication from other cultures. We must break out of the inevitable ethnocentric and linguacentric box reflected in: "Everyone has an accent except me," which reflects a very basic attitude toward the world.

Finally, we don't really come to grips with the reality that a high level of personal anxiety surrounds cross-cultural communications where the experience--and the attitudinal composition of the experience--are unfamiliar (Brislin, 1976). We must, ourselves, learn more about the students' motivations and attitudes.

To solve these problems, we should attempt to help the student achieve a sense of personal security, even a feeling of belonging, when moving among speakers of another language. In particular, we must try to minimize the American student's ambivalence in response to unfamiliar social cues particularly on matters of responsibility, authority, autonomy.

These efforts require that we see the students' language and cross-cultural experience as a dimension of their own growth, avoiding the shoals of alienation on the one hand and retreat from a real situation on the other. We must delicately help the students to grow into their own identity as members of their own culture while at the same time learning how to establish appropriate cognitive and emotional relationships within another culture. And we have to make a lot more effort to make certain that what they have learned can be applied in their own culture and language.

So we start with a values problem and end with a values problem. If a culture has its own inherent system of coherence and logic and everyone is to some extent a product of his or her own culture, then how can we both be ourselves and understand others (Brislin, 1976, p. 15)? The values and basic features of American culture are obvious, taken for granted by our students. But for cross-cultural learning, this is precisely the point: because our own values are so familiar, we get into difficulties when we try to live in another culture where the sun still comes up in the morning and sets at night (Brislin, 1983).

It is no matter of speech. It is a matter of language, of culture. We need, therefore, some significant reforms in teaching.

First, our language teachers should not call their subject "foreign" any more, a term which automatically engenders prejudice against language.

Second, language teachers need more substantial training in semantics, kinesics, proximics, sociology, anthropology, ethnography, communications theory. This implies a strong movement away from language as literature.

Third, where literature is learned, it should be learned as culture rather than as criticism. We must extract the realities that lie behind words, the emic rather than naive assumption that all is etic (Loew, 1984).

Fourth, meaning must be combined with grammar. Ask what functions are performed (not "why") by such things as: different "you" forms, permissability of double negatives, use of reflexives where they don't seem to be needed, declensions and inflections, genders of words.

Fifth, finally, we must make a real effort to anticipate the real world where the university model is perhaps inappropriate. Take the Americans in Francophone Africa where knowledge is history, not something you look up in the library or find in the lab; where authority is not the elected official whose name and vita are in the Blue Book, but the patriarch of an extended family or clan; where who you know is much more important than what you know; where truth is not necessarily the rationally derived conclusion from analyzing evidence; where meta-messages are more important than words; where oral communication is much more authoritative than the written word. Yet our universities and our schools don't teach that way. They teach that you look it up in a book, the professor's got the answers, the textbook has it all, and truth is what you end up with.

Finally, we've got to give an eye to our methods and materials. We need more use of satellite interconnects between nations, more use of interactive video, marrying the television with the computer, more attention to the contents of our textbooks. Look at a typical textbook on Central America. What do you see? Five pictures: siesta, fiesta, gun-toting guerrillas, a tinpot dictator and a great white ship loading bananas for your breakfast table. That's the kind of reality we are purveying and it's that kind of "reality" that we have to demolish in both our culture and language learning.

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A Model of Instruction for Integrating Culture and Language

Anthony Papalia

> To see the earth as it truly is, small and blue and beautiful in that eternal silence where it floats, is to see ourselves as riders on the earth together, brothers on that bright loveliness in the eternal cold--brothers who now know that they are truly brothers.
>
> --MacLeish viewing a picture of earth taken from the moon

It is commonly accepted that culture is embedded in the language and it represents man's entire heritage--all knowledge, beliefs, customs, and skills acquired as members of a given society. It describes all the ways in which a group of people act to satisfy their needs.

Although people on earth share similar physical, emotional, and group needs, individual cultures employ different strategies for satisfying those needs, each in correspondence with their own beliefs, customs, and traditions. These strategies and the resulting life styles will be further influenced by the climate, terrain, bodies of water, natural resources, and vegetation which are indigenous to that group in a particular area of the world.

The kinds of food eaten, the type of shelter built, the kinds of clothes that people wear vary according to the geographical setting, the climate, and the personal beliefs. In addition, because of the environment, history, economics, religion, traditions, folklore, and values, people develop preferred modes of living, communication, styles of relating to others, methods of achieving goals and awarding accomplishments, and modes of thinking, perceiving, and problem solving which may or may not differ from other cultures. As residents on the planet Earth, we all need and use languages to communicate with others; we seek knowledge, happiness, pleasure, self-esteem, love, justice, and goodwill, but we strive for these things in many different ways.

Since we are human "organisms," we tend to "organize" knowledge, learning, and values according to how we perceive reality. Therefore, it is important that teachers find out through questioning how students feel and think and how they have organized facts. This kind of questioning is part of what ethnographers call the self-disclosure technique. However, in order to be

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successful it is important to establish with students a good rapport. Through questioning, teachers have the opportunity to become aware how their students view the world around them and, later, to help them in abstracting, refining their perceptions, and in learning about themselves. Teachers may discover that the majority of their students do not posses skills for self-analysis. This is why the sequential mode of instruction of sensation, perception, concept, and principle is very useful. It provides insight on how students learn and lays the foundation for a learner-centered approach to language teaching and a cultural analysis of similarities and differences. Without this pedagogical "fit" our chances for tailoring instruction to the individual and developing cross-cultural understanding and a world-centered view in our students will be difficult. In this integrated model of instruction, cultural topics are identified which also serve as a basis for teaching a thematic vocabulary. Emphasis is placed on using the language as a medium of communication in situations which are culturally loaded.

An Integrated Model of Instruction

Basic phases in learning a language and cultural concepts may be facilitated or hindered by the manner in which content is presented and dealt with. When planning activities for learning a language and for developing cultural understanding, it is suggested that teachers use this sequential mode of instruction.

Sensation

Students are introduced to the linguistic and cultural items through the senses. (What I see, hear, and touch.) During this phase, teachers should provide an environment for spontaneous reactions so that students feel free to indicate what the stimulus has evoked. Knowledge, beliefs, customs, skills, behaviors, life-styles, and other cultural manifestations are presented through sensory modalities.

Perception

Students are asked to interpret the linguistic and cultural phenomena. (What do I make of it?) Here teachers "debug" the minds to find out what students' beliefs, knowledge, attitudes, and feelings are. They must identify how the cultural items which have been presented affected the individual, how the learner organized the new knowledge, and what conclusion he or she has drawn.

Concept

Students are asked to formulate the linguistic and culture concepts. (What is the code, message, belief, custom, value?) Teachers help in organizing of new knowledge and in developing an awareness and identification of values. They help in analyzing facts and behaviors as a manifestation of that culture by discovering causal relationships and value systems.

Principle

Students are asked to develop a guide to action. (Why do people have certain beliefs, customs, and values and how are they guided applying them?) Teachers, through rational thinking and emotional acceptance, develop an analysis and commitment to relativism. They develop situations or simulations in which students apply the new knowledge and predict ways of valuing and behaving proper to the people whose language they are studying. In addition, they promote an analysis of the learner's value system and an ability to analyze a given culture from within (emic) rather than from without (etic).

The topics, the age of the learners, and their ability to manipulate concepts determine how in depth cultural items can be treated by the teacher. However, by using the above mentioned sequence of instruction, students are involved in observation, reflection, and valuing. Through these phases teachers have the opportunity to develop situations whereby students are willing to receive through the senses, respond to what has been received, discover values, organize their own value system, and act in a principled way.

In creating a curricular plan which develops functional communication and integrates linguistic and cultural skill, teachers are encouraged to use the suggested model of instruction and to identify significant practical situations, topics, and ideas with which students need to deal. Within those categories they must then identify the purpose for interacting (functions). Finally, they must select the formulae or structures that are appropriate for the functions and have students use them in context.

The functions indicate why language is used and for what purpose, while the formulae or expressions are examples of utterances which carry out the expressed function. Their meaning is derived by the settings in which language is used and by the interpretations that exist in a given speech community. The focus is not on the particular grammatical form of the utterance, but on what is said.

It is commonly accepted that developing communicative proficiency requires understanding of the context, of the role that participants play, and of the selection of appropriate choices of language to fit the specific situation. Thus, communicative proficiency depends on:

1. Interactional use of the language in the social context (roles of the participants, purpose for interacting, and appropriateness of utterances);

2. Linguistic competence (lexical, morphological, syntactic, and phonological features of a language);

3. Discourse and culture inference (appropriate interpretation of connected sentences leading to a coherent, global and meaningful whole, and appropriate interpretation of cultural manifestations and values); and

4. Strategic functions (manifestations for coping with a variety of factors dealing with misunderstanding, clarifying, pausing, taking time to collect one's thoughts, reactive listening, etc.).

How teachers integrate these components within the framework presented in the instructional model is a key to success. While moving toward this integration, it is important that students be placed in situations in which they must actively use the tasks, obtain facts, and respond to facts.

To describe what communications students should be able to handle, the New York State Syllabus for secondary schools, which is in progress, suggests an organization which is topical, situational and functional. However, language teachers in developing communicative proficiency should be highly concerned on the one hand with the subject matter they are transmitting, such as kinesics, culture, vocabulary, syntax and phonology and on the other hand with the way students process information, with their styles, modes of learning, needs, interests and abilities which effect learning. In this process, materials must appeal to multisensory modalities and should be topically oriented to aid the learner. In addition, students should be guided through analysis to formulate appropriate linguistic and cultural concepts to be applied in real communication.

In acquiring language proficiency on certain topics, students should also: 1) become aware that there is no right or wrong way of handling conventionalities. There are only different ways. They should be able to recognize, identify, and even predict appropriate reactions of members of the target culture in specific social situations; 2) realize the influence of traditions on cultural behaviors and be able to recognize, distinguish, and interpret the basic structure of family and interrelationships between the family structure, education, religion, government, and economics; 3) be aware of the existence of other forms of government and their functions and predict openmindedly different solutions to universal problems such as warfare, unemployment, and pollution; and 4) become familiar with specific facts pertaining to geography and climate and identify the social and economic life of the people of a particular region with the purpose of analyzing these items and formulating a concept of the national way of life.

To reach these goals, teachers must provide students with appropriate vocabulary, situations, functions, and cultural presentations. Then, they must be able to provide an analysis of the culture by drawing from various sources and disciplines. To facilitate this task a list of topics with questions and cultural concepts for exploration is presented to the reader. This topical listing* is basic in planning a curriculum leading to bilingualism and biculturalism.

Topics and Thematical Vocabulary	Questions and Cultural Concepts for Exploration
Family / Home Life	- Family closeness
	- Family structure
	- Expressing emotions
	- Sense of privacy
	- Relationships with family members
	- Mother as child-bearer/rearer
	- Father as bread-winner
	- Nuclear vs. extended family
	- Accepting guests into the home
	- Adoption
House	- Owning a house / Living in an apartment
	- Rooms: How many? What are they?
	- Types of houses
	- Neighborhoods

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*For a more complete listing see Developing Communicative Proficiency and Cultural Understanding in Secondary Language Programs published by the New York State Association of Foreign Languages, 1102 Ardsley Road, Schenectady, NY 12308

Dating	- Parental involvement
	- Male/female relationships
	- Where and how to meet friends
	- Escort/chaperones
	- When a girl is considered an "old maid"
Eating	- Meal times/habits
	- Preparation of meals
	- Diet/types of foods
	- Amount of food eaten at meals
Children / Child Rearing	- Nurturing discipline
	- What makes good or bad children?
	- Who has children? Does income affect this decision?
Shopping	- Family budget
	- Types of markets
	- Frequency of going shopping
	- Freshness/convenience
	- Types of stores: Large department stores vs.small dealer owned markets
Occuptaion / Profession	- Wealth/survival
	- Amount of choice in selecting a career
	- Sense of dependability
	- Getting a job
	- Work-status or lack of it
	- Selection of type of work
	- Individuality
	- Earning a livelihood
Holidays	- How are holidays celebrated?
	- Influence of church or lack of it
	- Do people work? Are they paid?
Transportation	- Public vs. private transport
	- Means, modes, schedules
	- Efficiency of transportation
	- Types of travel (class)
Sports	- Active vs. passive participation
	- Availability of sports scholarship
	- How do sports enter into daily life?
	- Are sports figures held in high esteem?
	- Possiblity of a university career in sports
	- Fitness/excellence
	- Dominance in society
	- Competition, exercise, excitement
	- Types of sports enjoyed
	- Audience reactions: hissing, booing, etc.

Clubs	- Service to public group, specialization - What purpose do clubs fulfill? - Who joins clubs
Press	- Is there censorship? - Availability of newspapers
Restaurants	- Place to meet friends for entertainment - Multi/diverse - Frequency of visits/convenience - Types (i.e., fast-food chains, international cuisine)
Music	- Types of music enjoyed - U.S. influence upon music - The role of music in society - Aesthetic value of music - The role of music as an indicator of the cultured person
Movies	- Types of movies - What we consider entertainment - The movie industry - Censorship in movies - Are most films dubbed? - Where are they produced?
Television	- Station / Program variety - Kinds/times of programming - Peoples' likes/dislikes - Availability of television
Dancing	- What kinds of dances are popular? - Live music vs. canned music - Is dancing prohibited? - Where do people dance? With whom?
Recreation	- Sports as a social activity - Interest development - Intellectual pursuit - Expenses involved - Personal development/learning - Hobbies
Educational Instruction	- Amount of schooling - Does wealth influence type of school? - Amount of freedom in school - Prestige associated with amount of schooling - Acceptable level of education - Strictness/leniency in discipline - Importance of education in society - Roles of church/state - Avenue to social mobility

Mores and Folklore	- What are the most common beliefs? - Are there supernatural beliefs or suspicions? - How do mores and folklore influence daily life? (Ex. - almost everyone in Spain makes the sign of the cross when a bus or plane starts)
Fine Arts	- Classic forms of art - Famous artists - Historical significance and how it affects the present - What we value artistically - Art as an expression of life - Art as a cultural expression of aesthetics
Museums	- Admission? - Influence of art - Art for public? - Cultural implications
Exhibitions	- Sidewalk displays - Types of art/influences - Public galleries
Daily Weather	- How weather affects us - Progress determining weather in advance
Sports and Activities	- Which sports are played in which season? - How do we adapt?
Regions	- How do regions differ from one another? - Diversity of climates - How do regional differences affect the people?
Regional Influence	- What foods/occupations are found in which climate? - Clothing with seasons - What effects on the people? - Are styles of living adapted to environment? How?
Friendship	- Companion relationship - With whom does one make friends? - Types of greetings - Importance of close friends - Physical displays as overt reactions to friend's closeness (kissing, hugging)

John William Ward, President of the American Council of Learned Societies, in a presentation at the U.S. Office of Education on March 7, 1983, on

"Understanding Ourselves" insisted that there are aspects of reality which we cannot see and questions we literally cannot ask. We are all born at a certain moment of time and into a particular historical culture. We are born into families which have a particular place in the social and economic structure of society. We all have our particular experiences in life. All of these massive forces--cultural, historical, social, psychological--act as a screen which allows us to see some things but blinds us to other things. The job of education, he concluded, is to punch some holes in that screen. The task of learning and education is figuratively to get out of ourselves, to transcend the brute determinations which limit us. Communicating in a second language provides us with this opportunity. Through another language and another culture, we enter into a world not of our making where we compare, analyze, and assess our value systems. Language and culture form a seamless web and are inseparable. Therefore, in teaching a second language, it behooves teachers to use a model of instruction which integrates language and culture and allows for a learner-centered approach to maximize learning and a cultural analysis to understand similarities and differences.

Cultural Understanding Through Cross-Cultural Analysis

Jean-Francois Briere

Since it has earned the right to exist in the foreign language departments of our universities, the teaching of foreign cultures and civilizations has experienced considerable change. It was first, and for a long period of time, the teaching of Civilization with a capital C: the study of the great works, the great men and the great moments of a national history provided a background for the study of literature. A great literature had to come from a great civilization. In a sense, everything came from literature and went back to it. although it has not totally disappeared, this conception of culture as a sort of monument is outmoded today.[1] Starting in the late 1960s and the 1970s, the teaching of foreign cultures conquered its autonomy and, with the rapid expansion of the social sciences, sociolinguistics and semiotics, its perspective has been considerably broadened. The revolt against all forms of cultural imperialism has brought a relativization of the concept of culture and has drawn attention upon the immense problem of relations between cultures. Humanists as well as social scientists have become aware of the subjective and culturally defined nature of any point of view and any discourse on culture, one's own or that of others. They have come to realize that in order to apprehend cultural realities, one could and ought to start thinking about the observer's status and his tools of analysis. Relativism and subjectivism have led to an emphasis on understanding rather than knowledge in the problematics of intercultural relations.

The teaching of foreign cultures in our schools and universities has not yet fully absorbed these new epistemological orientations which, I think, should lead in the future to a profound revision in the way such cultures are taught. It is no longer possible today to approach the teaching of foreign cultures with an ethnographic and objectivist perspective which would allow students to believe in the absolute value of a given definition of culture. Too often, still today, the teacher of a civilization course or the author of a civilization textbook attempts to give students a better knowledge or understanding of the target culture with no explicit reference either to his/her own culture or to the students' culture. The foreign culture is

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isolated as a system which can be described objectively, the teacher or the writer presenting himself as a kind of detached outside observer belonging to no culture in particular. Such a position gives to the interpretation of facts and data the formal appearance of scientific objectivity, the corpus of knowledge appears to be independent from those who transmit it. It conceals the fact that any discourse on a foreign culture is by nature, whether one wants it or not, relative. If an American teacher tells his students "the French attach great importance to their summer vacations," his statement has no meaning except in relation to a non-French point of reference which is his own American culture. The only element of truth conveyed by such a statement has to do with American culture as much as with French culture: it is that Americans see the French as attaching great importance to their summer vacations. The intercultural dimension of the statement remains concealed and students will never become aware that what has been presented to them as an objective description is a subjective vision of reality. In fact, the French do not see themselves as attaching great importance to their summer vacations, they simply see Americans as giving little importance to them. The real problem is not to know if the teaching of foreign cultures must adopt an intercultural approach--it is always the case--but if such an approach must remain implicit, unconscious of itself with all the risks involved, or must become explicit, openly expressed. This is where the concept of cultural understanding comes in.

I believe that the first objective of foreign language and culture teaching is the acquisition of a competence in communication in the broadest sense of this expression. Foreign language departments are departments of intercultural communication. And, in order to break ethnocentrism, intercultural communication implies cultural understanding which I would define broadly as the ability to perceive the other as a cultural subject rather than as a cultural object. Such cultural understanding requires, I think, an explicit intercultural approach. I also believe that the teaching of foreign languages and cultures shares with the Humanities and Social Sciences a second important objective which is at the root of what is called Liberal Arts Education: self-knowledge and an increased awareness of one's own identity as a culturally and socially defined invidivual. And it is obviously not possible to become aware of one's own identity as a member of a national culture without making contact with foreign cultures. You have to leave the United States intellectually or physically in order to become aware of what it means to be an American. Such an objective is so important that it should stand as sufficient justification for making the study of foreign languages and cultures a requirement in American schools. Cultural understanding also applies to one's own culture. But self-understanding as an essential byproduct of foreign language and culture learning tends to be ignored by teachers. Students must face this reflection on themselves alone. Why not integrate such a movement in the teaching process itself? Why not explicitly recognize that the foreign culture teacher is also a teacher of American cultural consciousness?

For all these reasons, I believe that courses offered in foreign language and culture departments should be oriented, far more than they are now, towards the contrastive and comparative analysis of cultures. Such departments should see themselves as devoted to intercultural rather than monocultural study. The study of a foreign language does not, in itself, automatically offer a way out of ethnocentrism. It is a mistake to believe that contact with a foreign world automatically brings cultural understanding. On the contrary. As Laurence Wylie pointed out about a survey of some junior year abroad programs, "students who were somewhat suspicious of what they were about to experience in France returned francophobes. Those who had been curious and eager about their experience became ardent francophiles. Contact simply deepens the feelings you already have."[2] The role of the foreign culture teacher is precisely to break this chain of which many do not seem to be aware. Teachers of foreign languages have usually chosen their occupation because they love the culture they teach and they naturally feel the need to pass on a positive vision of such culture in order to attract and keep students. As a consequence, the teaching of foreign cultures has an inborn tendency to capitalize on such a vision when students share it, which is often the case. There is a sort of tacit connivance between teacher and students in this matter. Many people do not realize that a presentation of a foreign culture which seeks to promote love and admiration for that culture is as detrimental to cultural understanding as a negative presentation. Awareness, not love, is essential here and it can only come through a questioning of one's own perception of the other culture. Taboo questions like people's motivations for choosing to teach or to sltudy a particular language should be addressed openly. Students should always be made aware that they do not tackle the study of a foreign culture with a blank mind and that their own culture has instilled in them patterns of perception which are going to orient the way they look at the other. An explicit intercultural approach is all the more essential here particularly because our students frequently know little about the American counterpart of what we teach them about foreign countries; foreign realities remain remote abstractions with which they cannot relate, even on an implicit mode. This is why I am opposed to a pedagogy of language and culture which would not take into account the cultural specificity of students. Courses and books indistinctly designed for foreign students of all countries should be avoided because they make any explicit intercultural approach difficult or impossible. Within the last ten years, some teachers and a small number of authors have introduced an explicit cross-cultural content in their courses or textbooks.[3] In the field of French culture, the pioneer of an explicit intercultural approach is indisputably Laurence Wylie.[4] One of the outstanding qualities of his work is that it never conceals the cross-cultural dimensions of his analysis of France and the French: the relative nature of his viewpoint is always made clear. It is probably no coincidence that such an approach was developed by a man who had not been trained as a teacher of language and literature. Indeed, some major pedagogical problems stem from the fact that textbooks and courses on foreign cultures are generally written and taught by people who had been trained primarily as language teachers. Language teachers tend to extend to the teaching of foreign cultures pedagogical approaches designed for the study of language. Immersion, for example, which cuts the student from all links with his/her native linguistic environment should not be used in the study of a foreign culture, which involves no mimetic learning. On the contrary, a constant feedback involving the student's native culture should be organized and maintained in order to support the process of self-reflection. This has major implications, for example in the way study abroad programs could and should be conceived. Because they are geared mainly towards linguistic improvement, study abroad programs create situations where the student is cut off from his/her fellow citizens and his/her native culture for long periods of time. This may be an efficient way to improve language fluency. It is certainly not an efficient way to improve cultural understanding. When I see students coming back from abroad, I am always puzzled by the contrast between the progress they have made in their command of the foreign language and the lack of improvement in their knowledge and understanding of the foreign culture. Study abroad programs are still today following an old tradition originally designed for the education of the young aristocrat. Many of our students have not inherited the intellectual curiosity required to make the most of one's freedom abroad. We should help them more than we do. A semester or a year abroad represents a unique opportunity for the field study of a foreign people and its culture. Study abroad programs should be like classes in cultural understanding going on an extended field trip. Such programs should be structured as to induce students to become much more attentive to the foreign environment where they live. Students should work under the guidance of a faculty member from their home institution, with a program of weekly investigations which could include such things as making interviews, field observation of foreign behavior in specific places or situations, taking photographs of things or people one could not find in the United States, attending political meetings, studying street graffiti or foreign drivers' behavior in an accident, going to the theater or the museum not only to applaud plays and admire paintings, but also to discover who goes to the theater or who frequents museums and why. Students would all meet on a regular basis (once a week) with their instructor to discuss the results of their investigations. A constant interaction woiuld thus be maintained between contact with the foreign environment and collective self-reflection about one's own culture.

I have tried to implement some of the principles I have just presented in an undergraduate seminar for seniors which I have taught twice in the department of French at SUNY/Albany since the fall of 1980. This course, entitled "The French and the Americans," was entirely devoted to a cross-cultural study of both nations. The introduction consisted in a self-examination of the reasons for our presence in a department of French.

What is so special about France and the French? Then followed a study of past French-American relations during the last two hundred years and a comparative history of both nations. The next part was devoted to an examination of the mutual influences of French and American cultures on each other in the recent past and today. What is the so-called "Americanization" of France? What is the role of French culture in America? We then turned to an analysis of the view that the French and the Americans have of each other. It started with a study of cultural shock in a French-American context. Students were then encouraged to freely express their own perception of France and the French and to try to explain how it originated. After this, we turned to a study of French accounts on America and the Americans and of American accounts on France and the French. These included traveller's journals, reports, newspaper articles, interviews, polls, cartoons, etc., all of which had been carefully chosen to present a wide range of opinions from the late 18th century until today. Several classes were devoted to analyzing pro-Americanism and anti-Americanism in contemporary France. Students had rarely, if ever, had the opportunity to look at their own country through foreign eyes and for many of them, it was a bit of a shock. This part of the course ended with a study of French myths, cliches and stereotypes of America and vice-versa. The course ended with an attempt at a contrastive analysis of the French and American value systems and of a few selected themes like kinesics, family relations, women, education, the practice of democracy and the way to look at business. Each student had a major assignment to prepare on a topic dealing either with the history of French-American relations (for example: De Gaulle and the United States) or with mutual influences (for instance: American linguistic influences on the French language) or with contrastive analyses (like French and American feminism, French and American unionism, French and American cinema, French and American advertising) or with cross-cultural perception (for example: America seen by Jean-Paul Sartre, France and the French seen by the New York Times, a comparison between how two French magazines, L'Express and Le Nouvel Observateur, portray the United States, the image of America in French children's books, interviews of French people living in the United States, etc.). Some collective work was also carried out: questionnaires were submitted to teenage students in French and

American schools on what they thought of the other people and the other country. A detailed analysis of these questionnaires was done in class. Students had to prepare various exercises such as designing advertising pages for the same product to be sold in France and in the United States. At the final examination participants were expected, among other things, to answer questions such as why do candidates in televised presidential debates always face the audience in the United States and face each other in France, or to explain the cultural causes of specific political misunderstandings between the two nations.

Students' evaluations convinced me that such a course satisfied an unexpressed need for a more explicit intercultural approach. Students were able to put the foreign culture and their own into perspective through a collective research endeavor. This course did not neglect to take into consideration nor did it reject as unqualified the students' view of the foreign culture; it used it as a valid resource. Students discovered that they were themselves part of what was under study in the course. They felt personally involved in it and it is through this personal involvement that progress in cultural understanding became possible. As one student put it in his evaluation: "Now I understand why my French landlord in Grenoble tried to evict me."

NOTES

1. A recent (and excellent) example of such a traditional approach is J. Thoraval, Les grandes étapes de la civilisation francaise (Paris: Bordas, 1971).

2. Quoted in G. Santoni, Societé et culture de la France contemporaine (Albany: SUNY Press, 1981), p. 3.

3. See G. Santoni & J. N. Rey, Quand les Francais parlent (Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1975).

4. L. Wylie & A. Begue, Les Francais (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1970).

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Literature and Cultural Perspectives

Rafael Bosch

In determining the relationship between literature and the perspectives it offers on the cultural structures that lie at its basis, we should first of all be concerned with content, since it is evidently the main aspect of a literary work. Whenever literature approaches a level of realism, that is, whenever the social elements and patterns of a culture are objectively portrayed, references and scenes from works of literature can and should be used to make readers learn about typical situations and modes of behavior. This is a way of introducing the reader not only to the most common cases, but also to the traits which are peculiar to particular situations that are characteristic of a place or of a historical period.

The writer can, therefore, depict cultural aspects that belong universally to one society, and also deal with other elements of culture that are proper to a time or a region within that society. The first possibility generally requires a contemporary setting, in the widest sense of the term. In many developed and semi-developed societies, the contemporary forms of culture originated at the turn of the century. For other societies, the initial point could be earlier or later, depending on the amount and intensity of social changes. The important thing, however, is not just that a cultural pattern has been established in the contemporary period; this could very well be the case, but we must also take into account older forms of behavior within the given culture provided that we can show that those old patterns continue to exist today. Thus, for instance, when, in Entre naranjos ("Among the Orange Trees," 1980), Vicente Blasco Ibanez follows the ascent of a family in a rural setting, tracing the origins of a family fortune to a usurer who used to lend money to the peasants until he acquires land so that finally his son is a big landowner and a political boss, the writer gives us, among other things, a contemporary general pattern. It can be disputed if this is an aspect of culture or of society, that is, if the story has cultural or sociological implications. We believe that it has in fact both.

The term culture, in the sense that we use it today, is comparatively recent. The scientific use of the word seems to have been established in the

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late nineteenth century.[1] Culture in the sense of the way of living of a society, the customs, the ideas and attitudes that prevail in a collectivity or a human group, is an anthropological concept. But, since it consists of a descriptive exploration of society, it is clear that it shares many elements with sociology, and social organization is one of those common elements. The main difference seems to be that anthropology describes and systematizes while sociology discovers the laws of social relationships and social change.[2]

Coming back to the diverse manners in which culture can be presented in the literary work, let us add that when a writer tells us, as Benito Perez Galdos does in *Torquemada en la hoguera* ("Torquemada at the Gallows," 1889) that in the buildings in Madrid, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the richer people lived on the first floor, the low middle class on the second, and the poorer persons inhabited the attic, he made a general statement, which we can apply to the Spanish capital and even most other cities of that period in Spain. This is not the way the Madrilenians or other city dwellers in Spain live today. This shows that a cultural pattern can also be limited in time. It can be very characteristic of a certain period, but it does not mean that it is a pattern of social structure today. The same remark should be made about limitations in space. Thus, in *El lugar de un hombre* ("A Man's Place," 1939), Ramon Sender places the action of his tale in an agricultural village of Upper Aragon in 1910-25, where most peasants and farm hands vote in elections for leftist parties. That does not purport to represent the Spanish peasants of that period generally. At that time, and even much later, up to the thirties, most peasants in Spain would belong in such backward conditions that they would tend to vote for rightist parties instead in opposition to urban workers, who would tend to vote for the left. The novelist considers, in that same book, that rural society is divided between a few big landowners accompanied by several middle proprietors, on one hand, and, on the other, the poor peasants and farm hands. This must not be enterpreted as a direct, universal description of agricultural Spain. In some regions, such as the south, this type of contrast would be more acute, while in the north of Castile, for instance, rich farmers would be a dominant element of the social structure. The writer means to give us a representation of some of the political and social structures of the individual society he depicts. We must recognize similarities and differences in other regions. That does not deny the typicality of certain traits that are common to the whole of agricultural Spain, but the individual society that is presented for us here must be recognized in its concrete limitations.[3]

One of our main problems in trying to explain social patterns is how to deal with old or classical books. In those cases, we must distinguish between patterns of society that belong exclusively to the old times that are presented in the book and other patterns that reveal a permanent trait of that culture through the ages. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Cervantes, in a scene of the second part of Don Quijote, shows his protagonist challenging unknown and potential enemies and defying anybody who tries to cross a river on a bridge. The unknown enemy then materializes and it is known to be the Mesta, the terrible association of cattle raisers that ruled Spain at the time.[4] The cattle run over Don Quijote and almost kill him. This small scene that is both literal and symbolic can only take place in the Spain of the Hapsburgs and it cannot represent contemporary Spain. Cattle in a wide sense of the word, that is, including not only steers but also sheep, were the basis of the economy of imperial Spain. That economic basis collapsed during the seventeenth century. But the great book of Cervantes is full of scenes that can apply both to the writer's time and to ours. The clearest case is a portrayal of a form of social life that is common not only to Don Quijote's society and our time but also to time immemorial. This is the encounter with the simple shepherds that prompt the protagonist to deliver his famous speech about the Golden Age. While the raising of sheep and cattle as a fundamental form of social riches that has special power and privileges is confined to a very specific period--from the end of the Middle Ages to the seventeenth century--the practical work of sheep raising as a primitive form of economy comes from prehistoric times and reaches the present. The speech on the equality and humane basis of the Golden Age still retains its relevance today.

This type of reference to ways of life that originated long ago and, in direct or indirect manner, are present in contemporary life, must be brought to the attention of readers with caution. In order to relate literature and culture, we should avoid to rely on non-typical material. Good authors and good interpreters of literature know that, in order to represent social life appropriately, they depend on a common background of interrelated structures and events, even if events may take extraordinary turns and characters may sometimes or partly be special. Old, or even very old and primitive patterns, are presented by able writers and should be analyzed by interpreters of culture in terms of their typicality. The cases may affect one scene or character, just as when Dolores Medio, in Funcionario publico ("Public Employee," 1956) tells us of a burial in Madrid today and the ceremony is completed by means of a feast. A reader who is not familiar with those rare but typical aspects of the culture may believe that he has suddenly been transported to the ancient Greek world or to a prehistoric cave. Overtones of primitive life may also create a complete frame that lies at the base of the main action of a literary work, just as it happens with some of the dramas written in the thirties by Federico García Lorca. The action takes place in the twentieth century, but peasant life, as it is portrayed in those dramas, has many elements of primitive structure and belief, even if it is presented in a state of decadence at the same time.[5]

The content materials that the reader must interpret belong in different categories and can be looked at from different angles. If reference to old or well-established patterns is extremely important, we must not underestimate the significance of patterns that point to changes in the future. When the poet, Antonio Machado, wrote in 1913 his poem "El mañana efimero" ("Ephemeral Tomorrow"), he concluded that the working masses would have a decisive intervention in future events; and when, in 1915, he wrote "Una España joven" ("A Spain of the Young People"), he started by summarizing the failures of his generation of intellectuals and then he announced that the next generation would make greater efforts and succeed in greater social achievements; then, in such poems, the writer expressed the origin of the changes that would impel the Spanish population to new and decisive actions from 1917 on and that would succeed in the late twenties and early thirties. An important aspect of this question is that an author needs not be completely explicit in that respect. What is essential is that he, or she, recognizes the trend that points out to the future, even when this is not actively emphasized or clearly recognized at the outset.[6]

More has to be said about the content materials, its categories and angles taken to look at them. The literary reference to cultural aspects may concern social organization, institutions, customs, ideas, traditions, new trends, national psychology or the psychology of the different peoples of a state (ethnopsychology), manners of frequent behavior, tendencies of the language, both old and new. We have said that the picture of a culture that an author offers us must be objective. And, in order to be objective, the reflection of the realities portrayed does not have to be neutral, among other things because that neutrality is neither possible nor desirable. Writers, as well as other human beings, have their own ideas and beliefs, and an attempt at hiding them substantially from us readers can only result in an unpleasant form of hypocrisy. The writer has the obligation to be prudent in order to avoid a situation in which the approval or disapproval of the reader depends on his coincidence or discrepancy with the author's beliefs. But, besides being prudent, the author is not required to be hypocritical: he must be sincere and outspoken. Yet it is better if he makes those opinions as implicit as possible, because our judgment must be not so much a judgment of his ideas as of the reality portrayed. If the facts are credible by themselves, if the characters stand on their own and are not just the author's capricious creatures, whose only law is the mind of their creator, then we can say that there is objectivity in the portrayal, and the explicit ideas manifested by the author will occupy a secondary place. In realistic writers, this objectivity is applied to the substance of the content; but, of course, in terms of the methods of presentation of that material, or in terms not just of representation but of expression, the writer always uses and it is good that he uses many subjective ways of approach. Great writers create such methods of approaching human subjectivity. Therefore, a real objectivity has to be a combination of objective and subjective factors.

Our position, therefore is that representation must be objective in the sense that its data can be checked against other data, but that expression can be subjective in a number of ways, such as expressive distortion by exaggeration or by new modes of exploration of human subjectivity. That growth of exploration of subjectivity is naturally a tendency in the way of progress of the knowledge of the human mind, since, in order to effectively function in society, we must probe into the minds of others. It is a very special pursuit of literature because literature, just as the other forms of art, tries to go deep into the thoughts, feelings and motives of individuals and groups. This must be done, of course, by means of creative, or combinatory, imagination. Other forms of the human exploration of truth, such as history or philosophy, certainly aim at presenting thoughts and motives, but they mainly depend on the development of external circumstances. Art and literature follow a peculiar road to reach the most intimate secrets of the human mind and heart. But an exclusive dependence on the subjective factors of human life destroy the objectivity of artistic vision. Thus, for instance, a few great novelists of the nineteenth century created the special perspective of the internal monologue, among other devices to accent subjectivity to an unprecedented degree in that period. Lev Tolstoy created the internal monologue in some of his youthful short stories of the fifties, and Nikolay Chernishevsky created the concept and the term, which he discussed at length and ably defined in a famous essay.[7] Benito Perez Galdos created the internal monologue in the grammatical first person in 1881.[8] At the turn of the century, a few writers started to abuse the device in such a manner that, finally, in 1922, James Joyce wrote an entire and very long book, Ulysses, in a series of exclusive internal monologues, thus preventing any objective judgment of his action and characters, and since then the number of his imitators, usually second or third rate, who use the device just as routine, has been infinite.

When the author succeeds in reaching an ultimate objective position, we must nevertheless compare the autonomous reality he, or she, portrays to the attitude the writer takes in presenting that material. Explicitly sometimes, but at least always implicitly, the writer has a reason to present those materials which contain cultural patterns. He, or she, made a choice and looks at the subject matter in an individual manner. There is always a dialectical relationship, at least implicit, in those choices of whole scenes and details, with reference to the author's motives, as well as the manner in which he, or she, presents those materials to the reader. In brief, in the literary work there is a vista but also a vision, a material contemplated and a manner of contemplation of it, and both are closely interrelated. Those choices and visions of the writer (the elements of his manner of looking at his material) also betray cultural patterns--they are not the exclusive property of the content. Cultural patterns are present in the content and in the vision of it, even if--in the latter case--they are not always openly declared. In our task of making people understand or recognize cultural patterns that have been transmitted by the literary work, this aspect of the manner of looking at the material is first of all extremely significant and then it has to be compared to and integrated with that material, which only then is totally understood.

Let us see some examples. When the great seventeenth century dramatist, Lope de Vega, presents in his tragedy El alcalde de Zalamea ("The Judge of Zalamea") the case of a farmer who strongly resents the lodging of army officers and troops in the houses of the villagers, he reflects a conflict that was very real and has been dealt with by other coëval authors.[9] But, at the same time, he makes a particular choice of characters and details of the action. His Pedro Crespo first appears as a country bumpkin. It is only later, in the course of the action, that he discloses his determination and clarity of vision that makes his greatness. When Calderon subsequently imitated Lope's creation in his own drama of the same name, his rustic man has nothing clumsy or funny about him. The atmosphere and plot being basically the same in both plays, this difference in details and elements of character are very eloquent in each case. Lope, the original creator of the protagonist and his conflict and actions, has endowed his main character with elements of vulgarity and comicity because he evidently wishes to emphasize the social class distance between the peasant and the captain or captains, and he does so in order to make the villager's rebellion stronger. Calderon changes a number of details, beginning with the traits of his Pedro Crespo, because, within his own individual perspective, the essence of the conflict lies not so much in rebellion as in the defense of one's own dignity against the offenses of the privileged classes. There is a solution through violence in both dramas, but Lope accentuates revenge--or the redress of justice--while Calderon emphasizes the struggle for the defense of rights. This does not only teach us about the attitudes of different social groups--Lope belonging to the petty bourgeoisie and Calderon to the petty bureaucratic nobility--as well as individual differences in the two writers, but also about the manner in which each author handles his material. We must define the coëval attitudes not only of individuals but of social groups, which is one of the tasks of cultural anthropology, and then we must study how these conditioning factors influenced the handling of the subject matter. On the other hand, all of those factors, in turn, influence the subject matter, and especially the plot. In the two dramas we are referring to, both actions coincide in presenting an offended peasant, or farmer, who, when favored by fortune in being elected to the position of the judge of his village, takes advantage of the situation in order to punish his offenders. This story is sure to appear strange and even repugnant to the members of several cultures other than the Spanish or Hispanic. But the drama is famous because in the minds of the Spanish--and Hispanic--public, the protagonist is not a violator of the law but an ardent advocate of justice. This is in itself a lesson in the diversity of cultural experience, or in the peculiarity of the culture that produced such an expression of itself.[10] The variations in the two versions of the plot include the following: Lope's Pedro Crespo has two daughters who live in concubinage with two captains; Calderón's Pedro Crespo has one daughter who is raped by a captain; when he is elected judge, Calderon's hero requests the captain to marry his daughter, and when he refuses, Crespo orders his execution; Lope's protagonist, as soon as he sees himself in power, arrests both captains, forces them to marry his daughters, and then he has both executed without the slightest hesitation. The different perspectives of each author, even if they coincide in their basic attitudes, can be seen in the contrasts we have just pointed out.

If such contradictions exist between material and perspective in realistic writers, the element of perspective, or vision, is still more important in unrealistic or not-so-realistic authors. Realism requires the balance between objective and subjective factors that we have considered before. A tendency prevails today in criticism to regard realism only as a historical school or group of schools. It would seem that authors are only realistic when they have, in recent modern times, theorized on art or literature as a reflection of social life and on the methods to achieve an accurate depiction of it. This is, in our view, a very narrow and irrational conception. An author is realistic not because he has produced or assimilated a series of theories, but because he, or she, has explored vast realms of reality, both material and psychological. This concept can be supplied to Homer and to Balzac, to Aeschylus and to Shakespeare, to Dante and to Shelley. It is indifferent in that respect that they directly represent the society of their times, like Dickens, or that they invent unknown islands and fantastic characters and actions, as Shakespeare does in The Tempest.[11] The decisive thing is that ultimately they are representing reality objectively, in a manner that can be analyzed and judged. Even non-material fantasy can play a role in that condition of objectivity. But when the writer uses "idle imagination," as Chernishevsky called it, when fantasy is useless and cannot represent reality, no matter by which means, and it evokes only images that are absolutely subjective,[12] then literature becomes anti-realistic. Or when we are given no measure by which to assess the objective meaning of a reality that is supposed to exist, then literature also becomes unrealistic, and thus it is anti-realistic. We believe that, in fact, it becomes a terribly irresponsible sort of literature, something like an anti-literature. In such cases, within the trends that prevail today, it is difficult to say that cultural perspectives are present there. But they are, even if they exist in the manner of the omnipotent mind of the author.

When we are obliged to criticize a phenomenon negatively, such as the material content of a literary work, and it is evident that in such a case we cannot derive any knowledge of a reality that has been falsified or misrepresented, there is still the possibility and the duty to study the vision of reality offered by the anti-realistic author so as to derive conclusions on the cultural attitudes that he artificially superimposes on his material. When a novelist such as Camilo Jose Cela, in his book, La familia de Pascual Duarte ("The Family of Pascual Duarte," 1942), attributes to his protagonist a series of mechanical demonstrations of brutality on the basis that he had been one of the victims of a strongly unjust situation, we refuse to consider this interpretation of violence in contemporary Spain, including the Civil War, as satisfactory. Yet, similar explanations have been produced by exponents of Spanish culture sometimes, and studying the misconceptions of the author is also a task of clarifying cultural attitudes and patterns.

Finally, we wish to propose a few concepts about the relationship between literature and language as a cultural phenomenon. Language appears in literary works as a general basis of communication. And, within that frame, it appears as the language of the author or the narrator, who can be a witness of the events, and as reported speech. Since literature can and should be employed, among other uses, in the acquisition and improvement of language abilities, the distinction among these different means of using language is most pertinent in the effort to relate literature and cultural perspectives. In literary works, we ought to distinguish the following types of language:

1. The language of the author.
2. The language of a narrator-researcher who discovered documents and reproduces and perhaps analyzes them.
3. The language of a narrator-witness.
4. The language of a narrator-witness who, at the same time, is a protagonist.
5. The language of a narrator-researcher who has gathered together and interpreted several accounts provided by a number of characters.
6. The language of the characters.
7. A combination of several of the above options.

This, of course, applies to narrative literature, that is, to the novel and short story and other assimilated or similar forms. But the problem of classification would be easier in the drama, although perhaps more difficult in lyric poetry.

In any case, we must start with such categories of literary language so as to productively relate literature and language as an ability. An objective author, who remains semi-anonymous, without identifying himself and without intervening in the action, speaks a different type of language in comparison to a narrator-witness or a character, and individual characters speak different languages in terms of their social background and development and individual tendencies. By the same token, written language and oral language differ from one another. We must take into account all of those differences in order to learn and practice language through literature. Since language is the fundamental means of the literary arts, this is indeed one of the most crucial questions of the relationship between literature and cultural perspectives. The manners in the use of language by the author have to be related to the cultural patterns resulting from that diversity of manners and intentions.

Emphasizing and analyzing the interrelation between literature and cultural perspectives does not mean that this method for the study of literature and languge is the only possible method, but we are convinced that it is a very important and fundamental part of the proper understanding of those subjects.

NOTES

1. Probably the earliest use of the word in the sense referred to here was made by E. B. Taylor.

2. This methodological distinction should be applied to the other objects that cultural anthropology and sociology have in common.

3. That does not mean that the author has not thought about the action and atmosphere of his novel as something typically Spanish and which reaches a larger scope than his village in Huesca. It is quite evident that he expects the reader to derive lessons about Spain in general, by means of a manner of generalization that is typical and also symbolic. But the world he depicts to reach those ampler conclusions is very definitely limited.

4. The Mesta, or association of sheep and steer raisers, was dominated by the aristocracy (the grandees of Castille) and it was first recognized in an official manner by the kings of Castille and the laws in the thirteenth century.

5. It is for that reason indeed that one of those dramas, the tragedy, Bodas de sangre ("Bloody Wedding," 1933--strangely translated under the title, "Bitter Oleander") has been successfully adapted in two film versions which emphasized its primitive character, one Greek and even one Moroccan.

6. Thus, for instance, Gyorgy Lukacs has noted that the ending of Tolstoy's War and Peace is a clear indication that Russian society will change strongly after the Napoleonic invasion, as the emergence of the Decembists and other revolutionaries historically showed. Yet, there is no explicit discussion of that subject in the novel.

7. See R. Matlaw, editor, Belinsky, Chernishevsky and Debrolyubov, New York 1962, p. 95 ss.

8. We are referring to La desheredada, which opens with the internal monologue, in the first grammatical person, of an unknown man, who--as we later learn--is a madman. In the rest of the action, we follow a series of internal monologues of the same type in relation to his daughter, who is the progatonist and suffers from delusions of grandeur.

9. For instance, Mateo Aleman in his novel, Guzman de Alfarache.

10. Peculiarity does not mean uniqueness. Calderón and his Judge of Zalamea have been, for example, extremely successful in Germany since the 19th century.

11. In such cases, fantasy is handled in a non-material manner. Literary and artistic imagination always requires material imagination, that presents events that are justified by our material experience of life. But we can use non-material imagination to represent the same realities in a symbolic manner. When non-material imagination ceases to have that justification, it becomes idle.

12. Attitudes can be absolutely subjective by not presenting any discrepancy of elements that permit the reader to judge about circumstances presented subjectively. In order to be objective, we must ultimately compare testimonies and visions of reality.

Teaching Languages Through Immersion

Henry Urbanski

During the early 1970s, the State University of New York, College at New Paltz abolished the Foreign Language requirement for graduation. This change in policy, along with nationwide trends, resulted in a significant decline in enrollment in foreign language courses, and a consequent loss of instructional lines. For example, the French faculty went from ten in the late 1960s to three in 1982; Spanish decreased from nine to five, German from five to two, and Russian from two to one.

New, innovative programs were needed to reverse the downward trend in the study of foreign languages. This is how the idea of the Language Immersion Program was born. In the summer of 1980, under my leadership, a Foreign Language task force worked on details and developed an attractive brochure describing the program and the advantages of New Paltz as a study site in the Catskill region, within easy reach of major population centers. 15,000 copies of the brochure went to colleges and universities throughout the country. News releases in local papers, radio advertising on major networks like CBS and regional stations were part of a campaign to reach the widest possible audience.

Convinced that intensive study of a foreign language can create a highly effective and exciting learning environment, in which participants progress rapidly and gain greater confidence and enthusiasm to develop their fluency, we set out in the summer of 1981 to teach twelve languages at four levels: Intensive Elementary One and Two, Intensive Intermediate, and Intensive Advanced. Here is how the program works: participants may enroll in any one session or in a sequential combination of two-week sessions. Classes meet five days a week, five hours each morning, from 8:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m., for a total of fifty contact hours.

The emphasis is on the development of conversational ability in practical situations, with the goal to make travel and experience abroad more productive and enjoyable, and to facilitate basic communication for those who may use the language in their work. Class size rarely exceeds twelve and is often well below that. Practice with recorded materials in the language laboratory and

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at home supplements the class work. Students are encouraged to live on campus in a language dormitory and take their meals with their instructors to allow for further practice. Where possible, contacts with foreign students on campus are arranged or recommended.

We also provide for a variety of cultural and recreational activities. These include foreign films, music, singing and dancing, an "ethnic" dinner and various sports activities, all conducted in the respective languages. The sessions conclude with a graduation banquet at which all students perform skits and songs in the languages they have studied, and receive a certificate attesting to the completion of fifty hours in the language at the college level.

Before each of our summer sessions, we hold a workshop for college and high school language teachers featuring guest speakers, panel discussions and demonstrations of effective teaching methods. Workshop participants give short presentations of their teaching techniques. These presentations are used in selecting the best instructors for our Immersion Program. The core of our teaching staff are members of our own faculty whose personalities, methods, and faith in the program guarantee their success in this intensive instruction.

The program began on May 26, 1981. That first summer twelve languages including Arabic, Chinese, English, French, German, Hebrew, Italian, Japanese, Polish, Russian, Spanish, and Yiddish were offered in two-week sessions. Although we encountered some problems with housing and food service on campus, the program was a resounding success. 96 percent of the students evaluated as "excellent" the quality of instruction and the intensive method. The instructors, too, were enthusiastic in their praise of the program format, the quality and motivation of the students, and the progress achieved.

Following are some highlights of the summer program:

1. Between the summer of 1981 and the summer of 1984, a total of 1467 people have enrolled.
2. 41 percent of participants have taken these courses for college credit.
3. Almost 47 percent of the total number of participants have lived in the campus language dormitory.

4. The program has drawn participants of all ages, from 11 to 80. Young participants are the exception rather than the rule, however. We recommend a lower age limit of 14.

5. Many diverse jobs and professions have been represented, including teachers, business executives, doctors, dentists, lawyers, engineers, retired persons and students.

6. Our participants have come from all parts of New York, and from such states as Connecticut, Florida, Massachusetts, Texas, North Carolina, Illinois, New Jersey, Michigan and Vermont. We have welcomed participants from Canada, Bolivia and Italy. One year, three Pan Am executives came from Saudi Arabia to study Arabic with us.

7. The most popular languages are French and Spanish. German and Italian had a relatively slow start, but enrollments in these languages have grown dramatically.

As a result of the first successful summer program, we received many requests for shorter courses, so we instituted a series of twelve weekend sessions in 1981-82. On a typical weekend, from Friday evening to Sunday afternoon, a total of fifteen hours of intensive instruction and conversation are held again at the Elementary, Intermediate and Advanced levels. The reaction by students and instructors has been enthusiastic. Over 3400 people, college students and outsiders, have participated, and many are planning to return.

Because of the increasing popularity of the Language Weekends, we established a similar program at the nearby Mohonk Mountain House in June 1982. These weekend "Tower of Babble" courses are held in June and November each year. Since their inception, the enrollment has increased from 33 to 165 per weekend, and they have been so well-received that additional weekends in 1985 and 1986 have been scheduled. Likewise, the one-week long January program has been well-received since its debut in 1984.

Not all languages, of course, are taught in each session or every available weekend. The less popular languagaes, in fact, are now offered only on certain selected weekends and during selected summer sessions. But often, enrollment grows as word gets around. German and Italian are examples.

As the program developed, the New Paltz faculty could not teach all the courses, so we hired teachers from neighboring community colleges and high schools. One of the benefits for the department is closer contact with area schools and a more direct, practical acquaintance with our colleagues. Conversely, regional schools, their staff and students become more aware of the existence and quality of the foreign language program at New Paltz, and the status and image of our college benefits from the success of the program. For the outside faculty, this is of course part-time employment, and not the most dependable kind. Often it is only a few days before the weekend that the need for additional instructors arises. Even for the two-week summer session, it sometimes remains in doubt until the last minute whether a class will materialize.

For the instructor, however, the intensive weekend or summer session is an invaluable experience. Being aware of the fact that one has these people for such a short time helps to focus one's efforts and make the most of the time available. Limited, achievable objectives allow students and teachers to overcome one hurdle at a time.

Motivation is high from the start and can be sustained much more easily than when facing the prospective of extensive, open-ended study ahead. We do not deny the value and importance of long-term involvlement in the foreign language and culture; nor do we claim that the intensive courses are substitutes for extensive study. However, they provide an opportunity to "try out" a new language in a relaxed, non-threatening atmosphere. This experience overcomes fears and whets the appetite for more. And these Immersion Programs do, in fact, increase enrollments in regular courses. Many Immersion Program students, for example, continue in the regular courses during the semester.

Since 1970, our summer program in the Soviet Union has had an intensive on-campus pre-session, a small scale precursor of the Immersion Program. Resulting from such experiences, we are planning to offer a one-credit weekend as an optional extension of the regular three-credit elementary course, and to experiment with a weekend co-requisite for some elementary courses. We see this as an area capable of considerable development.

One of the major problems in establishing the Immersion Program has been scarcity of suitable class materials. These materials need to be compact, up-to-date, lively and directed at an adult clientele; they must cover the essentials of structure and vocabulary, yet be flexible and adaptable for use in a series of successive weekends. While serious and substantial, the texts should also entertain in the best sense. Our participants, volunteers with a wide range of motivations, want to and should enjoy the experience. Books are made available for class use or can be purchased, as the students prefer. The materials in these texts can be used selectively, and at the elementary level, as many as three chapters can be covered in a weekend in this fashion. In all cases, the instructor has to muster great flexibility, adjusting to the composition of the group, their attention spans, their range of preparation and their special interests. (One fairly advanced summer group, for example, demanded practice in reading and work on the more complex grammatical structures. It turned out to be a most rewarding and enjoyable experience for all involved.) We are still planning to develop our own materials specifically tailored to the Immersion Program; some progress has been made in that direction.

As of this writing, we have reached the half-way point in our Fourth Weekend Immersion Program. This year, we have added Portuguese and Swedish to our list of languages offered.

Generally, it is clear that the programs will undergo modifications and changes as they grow. But they have already brought to New Paltz new students who had previously been unaware of our foreign language offerings. Also, for the first time in many years, we are now meeting our student enrollment quotas during the academic year and are creating additional teaching positions for these special programs. Their role and importance for the school and the department, as well as the general public, is well established. We attribute the success of these programs to the following factors:

1. Enthusiastic, dynamic instructors committed to the intensive approach to language instruction, selected on the basis of personal acquaintance and participation in teachers' workshops.
2. Careful selection of teaching materials geared to stimulating conversation in practical situations.
3. Implementation of the latest, most effective teaching techniques.
4. A relaxed, non-threatening atmosphere conducive to learning and using the target language.

5. Participants' immediate sense of accomplishment in a short period of time.
6. Small classes.
7. Convenient location within a short driving distance from major population areas.
8. Convenient weekend schedules, and summer courses coinciding with vacation schedules.
9. Support and cooperation from the college administration.
10. Aggressive, large-scale promotion.

Individualized Instruction in Hebrew

Daniel Grossberg and Jana DeBenedetti

At the State University of New York at Albany, Hebrew language education is identified with exciting and innovative programs and methods of instruction. These are well received and undoubtedly account for the vibrant Hebrew program--even as some other foreign language departments at SUNYA are in a state of decline.

Elementary Hebrew, corresponding to the first eight credits in the language sequence, is taught using several correlated methods including: videotapes, audiotapes, workbooks, textbooks, class sessions, and tutorials. These several modes of instruction appeal to the various learning modalities of the students. The students are able to concentrate on those instructional methods that are most effective for them.

The mainstay of the program is the series of one hundred-eight video-taped one-half hour lessons. The lessons are not merely "canned" lectures; they include response opportunities for the student, graphics and skits demonstrating and eliciting the proper use of the language. These highly sequenced televised lessons further provide maximum exposure to students of an exceptionally gifted teacher. The quality and level of excellence of each lesson is insured. The standard of performance on the pre-recorded lesson is consistently high and not subject to the daily vicissitudes of a "live instructor."

Based on the principle that language is essentially a medium for acquiring knowledge and understanding of a culture, a primary technique employed in these videotapes is to remove the student from the world of the classroom to the place where the language is used naturally, in Israel. For a large number of the tapes the student is "moved" into Israeli society through the experiences of a young American tourist, Dani. In his travels, Dani encounters numerous situations typical of Israeli life. The students thereby are confronted with aspects of Israeli culture and mores, life and tradition. The college student readily identifies with the American tourist who speaks Hebrew with an American accent and mannerisms, and with the typical grammatical errors that most learners fall prey to. In each successive unit, however, both Dani and the student gain proficiency.

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The SUNYA program has individualized its instruction by enabling students to take advantage of variable pacing and mastery-based learning. They learn at their own pace rather than one set by the instructor. They may earn two to eight academic credits at the rate at which their time and effort permits, within some specified time constraints. The course work is divided into a series of learning segments called "modules." Students are required to master the material in each module and to present themselves for a mastery test.

Learning is not teacher-centered since the instructor ceases to be the orchestrator of classroom activities. Instead, the instructor becomes a resource person who may serve as a model for oral work, provide tutorial assistance and suggest alternative learning strategies. The students are given considerable latitude in determining the rate at which to learn the material, in deciding when to come for lessons, and in choosing test dates. This program provides students with both the opportunity and resources to assume greater responsibility for their learning experience. The program has been especially effective in meeting the needs of students with varying backgrounds and various reasons for studying Hebrew, but has obviously been less effective for students with little self-motivation. In order to provide specific instruction in accordance with each individual's needs, the students attend an orientation session at the beginning of each semester. At this time they are informed of the operational procedures and their resonsibilities. They also fill out a personal information card explaining their reasons for studying Hebrew, their background in language learning, the proposed number of credits for the semester, and other pertinent information.

The introduction of any innovative mode of instruction entails the added expense of teacher training, teaching assignments, preparation of materials, and new record keeping procedures. Most of these challenges have been met at SUNYA through a Hebrew Practicum course. The Hebrew Practicum students are advanced Hebrew students who register for the Practicum course for four credits a semester. This entails a weekly seminar in addition to staffing hours in the individualized program. In the weekly seminar, these students and the Hebrew professor study the language elements in depth, prepare teaching strategies and materials, and review the beginning students' progress and needs. Thee practicum students gain language proficiency and pedagogical skills while developing material and helping to instruct the learners in the individualized program--all at little or no monetary expense to the department or to the university.

At SUNYA we also provide the students with an option of a more conventional learning environment. In this program the student enrolls in a four credit course with five class meetings per week. On four days the students view the half-hour videotapes in a class setting along with a practicum student. In order to avoid the pitfall of impersonalization, each televised lesson is augmented by a half-hour class session led by the practicum students, immediately following each viewing. Additionally, the elementary Hebrew students participate in a weekly one-hour class with the professor. Mastery tests are administered on audiotapes at predetermined dates throughout the semester. The students in this program are thus assured of a standard four credits in each of the first two semesters of Hebrew language learning. The material is identical in both courses, and the first semester of the class setting corresponds to the first four credits of the individualized program. After one semester or four credits of individualized instruction, a student may choose to finish the last four credits in teacher taught class. However, no student may earn more than eight credits in any combination of the two programs.

The individualized program meets in a room called the Merkaz (the Hebrew word for "center"), the Hebrew Learning Center. The videotapes, playback machines and monitors, audio cassettes and players are all used here. The students can use the Merkaz approximately thirty to forty hours a week when it is staffed by the instructor or practicum students. It is open various hours during the week including early morning and late evening hours. Not only does the Merkaz play a vital role in the individualized program, but it has truly become a center for Hebrew at the university and even for the community at large. Other than the fact that its hours attract some non-traditional students into the individualized course, many other services can be offered as well. Perhaps the most obvious additional use for the Merkaz is to supplement the classroom version of the program. Students may view tapes which they feel they need to review, of they can even see tapes which they have missed in class due to an absence. They may also take advantage of Merkaz tutorials whenever a question arises--without always having to wait for the next class meeting, or they may just wish to take advantage of the individual attention available in the Merkaz. Conversely, a student enrolled in the individualized program is welcome to sit in on the conventional classes. The Merkaz has a library of Hebrew reading material on various levels from children's books to novels, poetry to liturgy, Bible to Israeli newspapers and magazines, reference books to Hebrew games and music--all of which one can take advantage of while in the Merkaz. Occasionally someone will seek assistance in translating a letter from (or to) a friend or relative in Israel, and know that someone in the Merkaz can help. There are various levels of a "Hebrew Conversation Club" which meet here. One also finds groups of students from higher level classes working together on an assignment there.

The television medium is exciting; as a learning tool it has the advantage of providing for reviewing, reinforcement and analysis of the material conveyed. It tends to catch and keep the students' attention more easily than the normal classroom setting since it obviously provides many and various visual effects and changes scenes from skits to songs to blackboard lectures.

The television centered, innovative approach to Hebrew at SUNYA has several educational advantages. The ability to dramatically feature linguistic/cultural interrelationships is but one of these advantages. Some aspects of this are listed below:

1. The student learns to communicate by translating meaning rather than words (ideas and emotions rather than dictionary definitions). Some Hebrew grammatical and linguistic elements (as in every language) lend themselves to an understanding of the world which is different from that of the student's native language. These are presented in natural target-language situations.

2. Vocabulary items which go beyond a simple definition due to specific cultural presentations are presented within the expanded speech-act setting.

3. The historical development within the language is apparent in Hebrew which is both a classical and a modern language. The Scriptures are still readily accessible to the student of modern Hebrew. Scriptural elements and allusions abound in modern Hebrew and can be found in many of these lessons.

4. The television permits the stress of non-verbal as well as verbal cues. The entire gamut of the kinesic system is seen and dealt with. A

presentation of kinesics--the study of the relationship between non-linguistic body motions, gestures and communication is presented especially effectively via television.

5. Numerous "culture-clashes" are included in the video-taped dramatizations. The differences between Israeli and American cultures are seen in a problem-oriented approach.

6. Israel is a center of immigration from all over the world--linguistic, social, and dialectical differences are depicted dramatically on the T.V. screen.

Although the fundamental language elements are the same for all elementary classes, the university provides three tracks of Hebrew education usage, namely: literature, conversation, and Biblical and classical (or any combination of three). The elementary students in the individualized program indicate their purposes in studying Hebrew on their personal information cards, which enables the instructor to adapt the tutorials to the goals of the learners. A student planning a trip to Israel might emphasize spoken responses and colloquial expressions, whereas someone wanting to study Bible and liturgy (a pre-Ministerial student, for example) focuses on Biblical structures and vocabulary.

Since the inception of the individualized Hebrew program, elementary registration has steadily increased. The success of the program has led to additional machines, personnel, and a larger learning center. Along with the growth is an ongoing evaluation and modification of the program. SUNYA has obviously benefited from this individualized approach to learning Hebrew. Other language programs would do well to consider adapting this type of program to their own needs.

International Cooperation--
The New German Business Diploma as a Model Project

Barbara Elling

"The walls between business and the humanities have been crumbling for some time now."[1] This statement does not come from an over-hopeful faculty member in the humanities, but from Roger Smith, Chairman of the Board, General Motors Corporation. In his keynote address for a conference on the topic, "The Humanities and Business: The Twain Shall Meet--But How?," held at Northwestern University in May 1984, Mr. Smith expresses his hope that the walls will in fact come "tumbling" down.

A number of factors are contributing or converging, all expected to result in renewed and increased attention to the importance of foreign languages. Nationwide studies of the American educational system have registered with alarm the previous sharp decline in the humanities and in foreign language enrollments linking this implicitly or explicitly to the decline in excellence in education in general. Business colleges have become conscious of the importance of the international component in professional training and have added appropriate courses or have turned to foreign language departments for cooperative arrangements. Private language schools are thriving and have waiting lists. Weekend total immersion programs offered by colleges near metropolitan centers (e.g., SUNY at New Paltz, New York) are becoming increasingly popular. Universities are reintroducing or strengthening the foreign language entrace or exit requirement and some states will be requiring a foreign language for a high school diploma. While the impact of these developments is as yet unpredictable, some positive trends are already emerging, for instance, a 4.5 percent increase in enrollments since 1980, according to 1984 data released by the Modern Language Association.[2]

The question of how the twain shall meet has occupied the academic sector for some time now. During the past ten years a number of successful international business programs with a strong foreign language and culture component has emerged, initiated and sustained by a small number of dedicated faculty members in foreign language and business departments. Particularly for Business German a considerble amount of good teaching material is

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available; seminars and conferences have helped train a cadre of instructors competent in the "new" teaching field. While the stigma of "vocationalism" still represents some difficulty in gaining acceptance, especially at research and doctoral-granting institutions, greater U.S. dependence on world markets and greater economic interdependence of the industrialized world will force universities to train future business and government leaders able to function in other cultures. The day might come when a tenure and promotion committee might weigh authorship of a business text as an important contribution from a humanities faculty member. For the time being, junior faculty at research-oriented institutions might still be best advised not to become involved in teaching language and culture courses for business programs.

Faculty members from German departments offering Business German realized from the start that without some sort of articulation and methods of student evaluation, we could not be optimally effective and would not have the necessary credibility in the business sector. The answer to our problem was found in the development of Das Diplom Wirtschaftsdeutsch für die USA (German Business Diploma for the USA) which will be administered for the first time in 1985.[3] The successful cross-Atlantic collaboration in test development, which took place between 1981-1984, is perhaps unique and is briefly described below in its most important stages.

Seminars and conferences on the topic of Business German were held at the University of Cincinnati from 1975-1980 with the support of the Goethe House, New York. Discussions about a German Business Diploma began at the 1977 annual conference of the American Association of Teachers of German (AATG) with Ray Schaub (Eastern Michigan University), Alan Galt (University of Cincinnati) and Manfred Heid (Goethe House, New York) participating and thus serving as the "founding fathers" for the probject German Business Diploma.

In 1981 German professors from institutions which offer Business German as course(s) or degree programs were brought together with representatives from the Goethe-Institutes Atlanta, Boston, New York City and Rome; the Carl Duisberg Society of New York and the Carl Duisberg Central, Köln; and the German-American Chamber of Commerce, New York. During the seminar, funded by the Goethe-Institut, the groundwork was laid for the

- constituencies to be involved and type of involvement,
- possible sources of funding,
- objectives and general content of the test, Diplom Wirtschaft für die USA

Additional meetings organized by Rau Schaub were held at Eastern Michigan University and the AATG conventions.[4] In 1982 an intensive working seminar was held at the University of Florida. Rosemarie Buhlmann, an expert for subject specific language testing from the Goethe Institut, Munich, began to work with the group on the test objectives and desirable competency levels. The link to the AATG was officially established at this juncture with the result that the working group became an AATG standing committee. Gerhard Weiss, President of the AATG acted on behalf of the Committee for Business German, when he requested project funding from the Goethe-Institut, Munich, and the Carl Duisberg Centren, Köln. The German-American Chamber of Commerce, New York, supported the request and pledged future cooperation. The response from Munich and Köln was positive and the project--years spent in planning, years to be spent in test development--could start. The contractual arrangements agreed on in 1983 and made public in 1984 identify the partners: AATG; Goethe-Institut, Munich; Carl Duisberg Society; the Carl Duisberg Centren; and the German-American Chamber of Commerce. Furthermore, the contract identifies the test's objectives, contents, the conditions and control procedures, as well as all technical and administrative details. Beginning February 1983 Sabine Steglitz, a testing expert from the Goethe-Institut, Munich, spent a year in the U.S., working at universities with strong German Business programs, at the German-American Chamber of Commerce and the Goethe Institutes, Houston and New York. Once the necessary consulting had been completed, authentic materials were collected, reviewed and sorted in accordance with the test objectives and modalities previously agreed on at several meetings.

The test is designed for American students who plan to work for

- U.S. companies trading with companies in the F.R.G.
- German companies (or their subsidiaries) located in the U.S.
- U.S. companies located in the F.R.G.

Test objectives are cognizant of these broad career goals and focus on the areas of business management (Betreibswirtschaft), economics (Volkswirtschaft) and special linguistic and cultural competencies needed for conducting business in Germany (*Wirtschaftliche Landeskunde*). The competencies required and tested were divided into five broad categories, each tested by a number of sub tests:

- reading comprehension of business texts,
- listening comprehension of business communications,
- the production of written texts, e.g., letters, Telex, informal inter-office communications,
- speaking ability in a business context,
- the reproduction of a text from the target language into the native language, *not* meaning translation.

The text examines the following broad areas:

- typical organizational structures and functions of companies (*Betreibswirtschaftliche Strukturen und Funktionen*,
- the companies' organizational objectives (*Geschäftsaufgarben des Unternehmens*), e.g., Marketing (*Absatz*)--here the topics range from export to sales personnel to marketing strategies to marketing research and to advertising,
- management objectives of companies including all aspects relating to personnel (*Managementaufgaben des Unternehmens*).

An important section dealing with *Volkswirtschaftliche Landeskunde*; that term might be translated as "economic life" or the "business climate" in the F.R.G. The study of the German social market economy and the economic and social forces characterizing it are a major objective in most German business courses in the U.S., particularly as the economy relates to social benefits, labor policies, the work environment and foreign workers. Each of the above categories is broken down into specific subcategories. The subcategories are classified in accordance with the three different career goals or "needs group," specified as the diploma's *Zielgruppe* or future testees. The agreed upon categories then become the basis for the test content (*Stoffkatalog*). The linguistic skills necessary for the test were divided into broad skill areas:

The Receptive Skills

1. Tested here is the comprehension of written texts such as newspapers, informational material (provided by such organizations as chambers of

commerce), advertisements, technical texts, business forms, graphs and flow charts. It is assumed that the student can absorb a high volume of information, can read selectively and interpret a given text or graph. All materials are authentic.

2. Comprehension of spoken texts such as business news reports, contract talks and negotiations, verbal interaction within the company or with business partners. It is assumed that this form of interaction is not limited to basic business conversations, but includes comprehension of a variety of speaking styles and technical terminology. Again all material is authentic.

The Production Skills

1. Writing of texts for inter-office communications as well as business letters and Telex (roughly 90% of all business communication in German business is done through Telex).

2. Reproduction of a written text from L_2 to L_1. Literal translation is not a testing objective, since the objective is the transfor of knowledge and informatin (Informationsvermittlung). This can be done as a summative statement or in detail, depending on the particular situation.

3. Production of verbal communication in conversations, contract negotiations, request for information, and information exchange. This skill can be tested in interviews and can utilize role playing techniques; it is one of the more problematic testing areas, particularly since the interviewer (a faculty member in all likelihood) would not conduct the interview on as technical a level as it would be done in an actual business setting. Speaking about and interpreting charts as well as answering questions is another skill tested here.

Additional subtests evaluate competency in such areas as technical vocabulary (Fachlexik and translation skills (L_2 to L_1). The vocabulary is tested in the German context without asking for the English equivalent. Items include matching questions, fill-ins in partially complete tables and the completion of flow charts.

Technical vocabulary never appears in isolation.

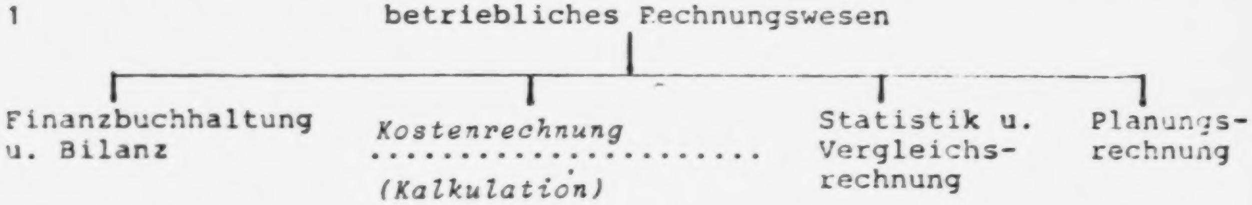
The following sample items (1-7) make clear the method of testing business vocabulary. Correct answers appear in italics.

Lösungen

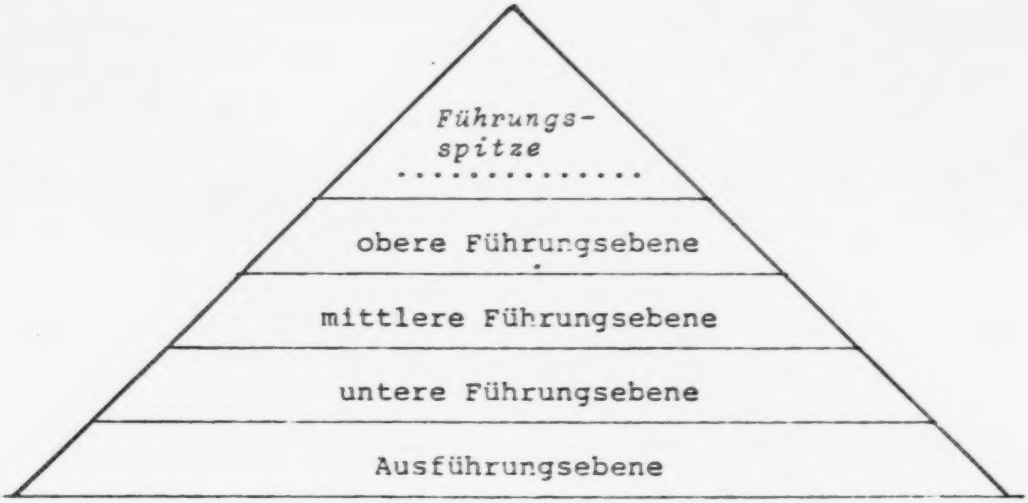
CHART 1

Bitte ergänzen Sie die Lücken oder verbinden Sie zusammengehörige Begriffe mit einem Pfeil.

1


betriebliches Rechnungswesen
Finanzbuchhaltung u. Bilanz
Kostenrechnung .... *(Kalkulation)*
Statistik u. Vergleichsrechnung
Planungsrechnung

2

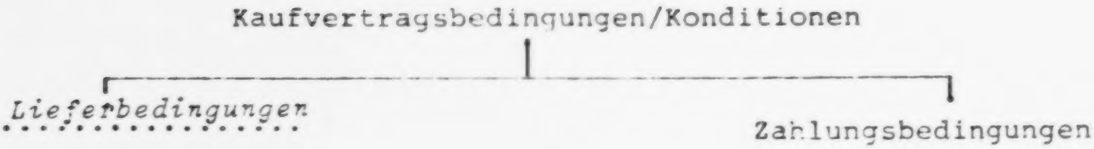

Führungsspitze ....
obere Führungsebene
mittlere Führungsebene
untere Führungsebene
Ausführungsebene

3

Beispiel eines Absatzweges:

Produzent
↓
Großhandel
↓
...*Einzelhandel*...............
↓
Verbraucher

4

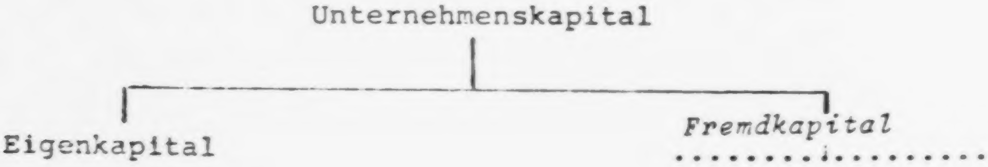

Kaufvertragsbedingungen/Konditionen
Lieferbedingungen
Zahlungsbedingungen

5

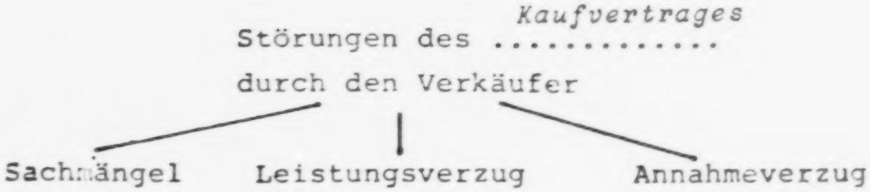
Selbständigkeit von Unternehmen

	rechtlich	wirtschaftlich
Interessengemeinschaft	+	+ oder -
Konzern	+	-
Kartell	+	+ oder -
Trust	-	-

6


Unternehmenskapital
Eigenkapital
Fremdkapital

7


Störungen des Kaufvertrages
durch den Verkäufer
Sachmängel
Leistungsverzug
Annahmeverzug

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German is used throughout the test and there are no multiple choice items. The main criterion for evaluating a student's performance on the test is quality of content (of the spoken or written communication), technical accuracy and knowledge of lexical items (Grundlangenlexik). Correct gender, adjective endings and spelling are of secondary importance and are counted only if such errors make the text produced incomprehensible.

Once the test has been administered in 1985 we will know whether it is realistic for U.S. students. What we now know is that the test incorporates the real needs of the business world, since these needs were carefully established in consultations with chambers of commerce and business experts. We also know that it is designed at an optimal level of difficiulity. Most importantly, the test assures us of a good "product" since students who have successfully passed the test have shown that they possess a high degree of competence. Ideally an undergraduate major which prepares students for this type of test (and competence in a business career) should incorporate beyond the general university requirements roughly thirty semester hours of language and area studies and thirty semester hours in business and economics; this includes courses in international marketing, comparative economic systems and international economics. The course work is followed by at least three semester hours of internship work in an international firm or abroad. Among the existing successful degree programs are the Language and International Trade B.A. and M.A. programs at Eastern Michigan University with now over four hundred students.[5]

Other degree programs or Business German course offerings exist in such institutions as Ball State University, University of Cincinnati, Purdue University, Pennsylvania State University, New York University Deutsches Haus, University of Pennsylvania, Rutgers University, SUNY at Stony Brook, Georgia State University, California State Universities at Fullerton and Long Beach and the University of Florida, to name a few. At Stony Brook a 1980 doctoral dissertation (Doctorate in Foreign Languages, D.A.) was, in fact, one of the first major projects in the development of a Business German course and course text. Since the department has used computers in the teaching of German since 1968, the design of software for functional language courses is now under discussion.

For existing programs as well as those to be created the German Business Diploma will be a sound mesure of student achievement and perhaps even an indicator for future career success. Just as importantly, the Diplom can and should serve as a guideline for course and program content, teaching appraoch and course materials and a quality control agent. Ultimately the existence of such a diploma is certain to make the study of German for career purposes more attractive.

Such trans-Atlantic collaboration and the crucial support given by the German partners can perhaps not be duplicated in other language areas (for French, of course, the Diplome Superieur alrady exists), but the developmental process might serve as a model. Once similar quality control devices in the form of a Diplom exist in the other major languages, the foreign language profession will have considerable credibility with the business sector and be able to provide an important contribution to multi-national business.

NOTES

1. General Motors distributed copies of the speech to foreign language departments.

2. Chronicle of Higher Education, vol. XXIX, Nr. 1, August 29, 1984.

3. Those interested in a detailed description of the diploma and sample test questions should contact Dr. Manfred Heid, Goethe House, 1014 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10028, for the 1984 one hundred seven-page publication, Das Diplom Wirtschaftsdeutsch für die USA.

4. Professor Schaub has held an important leadership position in all activities related to the test, particularly for organizational and contractual arrangements. He and his foreign language colleagues have developed a successful Language and International Trade Program at Eastern Michigan University.

5. For information contact Professor Ray Schaub of the Department of Foreign Languages and Bilingual Studies, Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, Michigan 48197. The program is offered for French, German and Spanish.

Using University and Community Resources in the Teaching of Russian

Ronald W. Bustin

This morning I will try to give you a feeling for our Russian program at Watervliet High School, with all its idiosyncrasies. I do not claim to have a panacea for increasing foreign language enrollments. What I have to say does work for us and, hopefully, you will benefit from some of our methods. There are other fine high school Russian programs scattered throughout New York State. Among them the program at Shaker High School taught by my good friend Tom Gutch.

This is my twenty-first year teaching Russian and German at Watervliet High School and I have loved every minute of it, despite a rather hectic schedule. In early September I was informed by the administration of our school district that a total of 135 studentse would be enrolled in six section of Russian language. Since I also teach three seminars in German plus my duties as foreign language department chairperson, it was quite obvious that something had to be done. After all, six Russian classes plus three German seminars in a seven period day! Well, after explaining to the administration that even Peter the Great could not work this out, they hired another Russian teacher to relieve me. This is really my easiest year of all, as I said, my twenty-first. Because now I only have four Russian classes, three German sections and my foreign language department duties. I suppose the reason for this increase was having fifty-two students in Russian I, more than one-third of our ninth grade.

Our new Russian teacher, by the way, is a graduate of our high school and a former participant in the prestigious SUNY-Moscow Exchange Program. He also teaches Russian in grades four through eight in the adjoining Maplewood Elementary School where Russian is required. The community is Russian with first, second and third generation speakers who attend their own Russian Orthodox Church. The Maplewood Russian Program was the first F.L.E.S. Program in Russian in the United States, which I introduced in 1964. We in Watervliet are also looking into the possibility of introducing Russian in our own elementary school next year.

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Although Watervliet, New York, is a blue collar community and our high school is a small city high school with all the typical urban problems, we have had a rather large number of our graduates continue in Russian.

The topic of my talk is "Using University and Community Resources in the Teaching of Russian." This very university is certainly a major resource. However, we at Watervliet High School consider the world our community and I will try to explain why.

As I have already stated, it is necessary to give you some background material as to what Watervliet High School's Russian program is like so that you will get the "feeling" for what we are trying to do.

A rather large number of our graduates do go on in Russian. At any given time there are usually between fifteen to twenty of them taking Russian in some college or university. Last year we had two at the United States Military Academy at West Point, several in various branches of the SUNY system, and some at other colleges such as Wells, Marist, the University of Rochester and the Defense Language Institute in Monterey, California. I am very proud of the fact that in each of our graduating classes since 1971 there have always been students who have majored in Russian in college. This is continuing and I am absolutely elated that in our present Russian IV class we have a number of students who will definitely major or minor in Russian. Just about all will continue in Russian in one way or another. Five of them are also studying German. Two of these German students are triple language students who are also enrolled in either French IV of Spanish IV. In fact, I expect them to do quite well in the next NYSAFLT Student Scholarship competition. Only ten of these scholarships are awarded annually--one for each NYSAFLT Region in the State of New York--and I am proud to say that a Watervliet High School senior has won this prestigious award for the Capital Region in 1980, 1981, 1983 and 1984. Three of the four recipients either majored or minored in Russian in college; all took Russian. We at Watervliet High School were also quite honored to receive The James E. Allen Award from NYSAFLT in 1981. For us, the greatest honor is recognition by one's peers. I sincerely believe that NYSAFLT represents the best hope for effective foreign language teaching in our state.

Now that I have given you a little background on our program, let me give some examples of actual use of university and community resources in the teaching of Russian.

Our students are certainly our greatest resource. At Watervliet High School we make it a policy to keep in touch with literally dozens of graduates who have done something, somewhare, somehow with Russian. We analyze their tests, their texts, their worksheets, everything. We invite them back to talk to us. Last year I had eight graduates return. Students talking to students. These students in grades eight through twelve are influenced greatly by their peers. After all, they hear me every day talk about foreign languages and career education.

I divide this Russian Language Speakers Corps into several groups. First, the Russian Major. We have had quite a few superb student teachers from this very fine institution. Believe me, I really need them. We rely on methods students who, by the way, make great tutors. We also use students from SUNYA's Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures who, although not all in the teacher education program, have tutored, lectured and given foreign language demonstrations. The Russian program at SUNYA is second to none, and, through professor Toby Clyman of that department, we have had many Russian majors over the past decade contribute in a very positive manner to our program. This course, which is for credit, is called Russian 395 and has also been referred to as "Operation Outreach." It is a field experience giving SUNYA Russian majors the opportunity to leave the ivory tower, help others, and gain practical experience. I should add that although the majority of these student interns are from SUNYA, we have had them from other schools such as Wells College and Hartwick College. This semester we have our fifth intern in as many years who is a graduate of our high school. Next semester SUNYA will send us another one of our own alumni to tutor in Russian. And I have them lined up for the next six years. These interns are especially or simply, general language tutoring.

The second group of this Russian Language Speaker Corps consists of non-language majors who are taking a Russian course to satisfy some foreign language requirement for a degree in history, political science, biology, chemistry, etc. We are equal opportunity listeners and accept both undergraduate and graduate students from anywhere on earth.

As foreign language teachers, we must realize that not every student we come into contact with will major in our discipline. I encourage all students to study a foreign language. Business students! Science students! Why not? This, it seems to me, is most conducive to the needs of our constantly changing world. I have had science majors explain their course work in Russian to my classes--classes with students who plan on pursuing careers in science! Without these potential science majors in foreign languages our total program could be hurt due to the lack of enrollment. That's the key word. Enrollment! After all, administrators must justify not only their own existence, but also these courses to taxpayers. What I am trying to say is that every year, based on the clientele I have to work with, I must adapt.

The third group of my Russian Language Speakers Corps consists of the Russian Language USER--either a native speaker of Russian or the person who is able to support himself because of a knowledge of Russian. We have used both, including a large number of our own graduates. Our newest staff member is a product of Russian language training throughout the Maplewood Elementary School, Watervliet High School, SUNYA and the SUNY-Moscow Exchange Program. And one of our graduates is currently a graduate assistant with the Slavic Language Department at SUNYA and another works for the same department under a work-study program.

During the past decade our graduates have been speaking to Russian classes and sending us examples of the kinds of things they have been involved with. So much was coming in last year that I personally Xeroxed about 200 copies a day for one solid week of pertinent material. On several occasions I was almost declared Persona Non Grata by our office staff. These people who have aided our program work for the C.I.A., N.S.A., Department of Agriculture, U.S. Army Military Intelligence, U.S. Air Force Military Intelligence, and independent translating firms. Last year alone, our graduates used their Russian language skills in Japan monitoring Soviet submarines, in Germany listening in on Warsaw Pact maneuvers, and, literally, in the shadow of the Kremlin itself. When that Korean plane was so tragically shot down last year, a graduate of our high school was involved in translating and analyzing those Soviet communications tapes.

Our Russian classes take advantage of everything, everywhere, everyone. Our whole planet, which is but a minute speck in the entire cosmos, is where the action is. That's our community. For instance, we take pride in the fact that this university system established the first on-going undergraduate exchange with a Soviet institution of higher education. Started in 1975, each year under an agreement of reciprosity approximately ten Soviet students and ten American students throughout the SUNY system spend a semester abroad studying each other's language and culture. There is also the opportunity for graduate students to participate in acdemic study in Moscow. Since its inception, five Watervliet High School graduates have taken part on both levels and the students they report back to at our school with slide presentations, lectures and various displays are the ultimate beneficiaries. Since 1971, there have always been students from our school (current and alumni) in Russia in each calendar year.

We have one of the largest slide collections of the Soviet Union in the country. One of our graduates, who continued her Russian studies at Smith College in North Hampton, Massachusetts, has been teaching at the Anglo-American School in Moscow during the past two years. We have benefitted greatly from the materials she has been sending us--most recently fourteen Soviet filmstrips on Russian fairy tales.

This university is a cultural oasis. Our Russian students have participated in World Week, Community Day Activities--most recently, last weekend when they had the opportunity to sample Russian food provided by the SUNYA Slavic Club. This experience, plus a filmstrip on Russian cooking, provided for excellent conversation practice in class. Our students have also viewed Russian and Soviet films off campus and again, thanks to Professor Clyman, our students have had the opportunity to sit in on her very inspiring lectures on Russian literature.

We at Watervliet High School are service-oriented when it comes to Russian. We are willing to help people in our community with our free translating service. This is especially conducive to the needs of our aging Slavic population. And we recognize these students for service at graduation ceremonies. We have also been working on a consumer guide for Russian speaking citizens through a mini-grant from NYSAFLT. We want to know where it's happening. We subscribe to Pravda and many journals such as Soviet Life and Sputnik. Some of our students have Soviet pen pals. We have also been corresponding with some very prominent Americans on the subject of Russian language study in American society.

We have actually received personal replies from such people as former President Gerald Ford, Vice-President George Bush, Robert McFarlane, who is President Reagan's National Security Advisor, Senator Alfonse D'Amato, the Secretary of Defense and Congressman Sam Stratton. Mr. Stratton, by the way, visited the Soviet Union as a member of the House Armed Services Sub-Committee and was kind enough to give a slide presentation to all our Russian classes a few years ago. We also correspond with the Soviet Consulate to the United Nations and have visited them a few times. After all, the Soviets, with all their propaganda, are members of the community too. And local military recruiters (our Army) have provided us with Russian experts on more than one occasion. This is a free service.

Last week an FBI agent came to our school to investigate one of my students who is being considered for employment with the federal government--using Russian. When I got through to him about how nice it would be ito speak to my Russian students about career opportunities in languages, he agreed.

My students are willing to serve the community. They helped translate Russian for the Census Bureau and Amnesty International. They have assisted me in translating for the sister city pairing project involving Albany and the city of Pskov. They get involved. And at least once a month our local newspapers print something about accomplishments or projects of Russian language students. We value the press and use it.

We have a Career Internship Tutoring Program in Russian where students help students. Members of our Russian Tutor Squad have participated in many competitions sponsored by the American Council of Teachers of Russian. They have won medals on both the national and international levels. We use these outside activities to insure continued efforts.

I really look forward to a great year with my Russian students and sincerely wish all of you the same. This year we will be participating in more competitions and developing our own foreign language newsletters. Our

Russian IV seniors are now being exposed to a second Slavic language--Serbo-Croatian--from our new foreign exchange student from Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

I am especially pleased to announce the establishment of a first of its kind Russian Studies Institute at the Junior College of Albany next summer for high school students, under a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Needless to say, we at Watervliet High School will try to get involved. Our community is constantly changing and what I have attempted to do is to simply tell you about our program, give you some ideas and I hope that I have made some positive contributions to foreign language instruction.

Tiga, Topa, Tippula, and Tiggers--

A Global Education Program for Primary School Pupils

Susan Losee and Mary Kay Sawyer

The need for Global Education for students at all levels in our American schools is widely recognized, and was emphasized in "Education for a Global Perspective," an action plan considered by the Board of Regents of New York State. The following statement from the Report to the Regents provides a general definition of Global Education.

> The goal of this plan [the Plan for New York State] is to develop among all students a knowledge and understanding of the cultures of this nation and the world and to provide more students with communication skills necessary to meet their personal and professional objectives in cultural settings and in languages other than their own.[1]

The project described in this paper represents an effort by the Intensive English Language Program at State University of New York at Albany, in cooperation with the Ichabod Crane Primary School of Valatie, New York, to contribute to the cross-cultural understandings of two selected groups of New York State learners in the ongoing process of their "education for a global perspective."

Target Groups Involved

One group of the project participants is composed of primary school pupils (kindergarten through third grade) from the Ichabod Crane Central School District in Columbia County, New York, whose student body is drawn from farms and villages. These children are from varied socio-economic backgrounds.

Adult international students enrolled in the Intensive English Language Program (IELP) at SUNY at Albany for English language and American cultural studies comprise the second group of project learners. These students come to the U.S. from their native countries for academic, business, or personal reasons. Most plan to continue their education at a college or university; some hope to continue their professional careers in the U.S.; a few are political refugees, who will continue to reside in the U.S.

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[1] Introduction to Draft Copy of "Education for a Global Perspective, a Plan for New York State," The University of the State of New York, The State Education Department, 1982.

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It was primarily to bring together representatives of the above populations that this Global Education project was planned. It was hoped, however, that additional persons might be influenced positively by the global Education experiences, namely, the primary school teachers and the IELP faculty and staff, as well as the parents of the primary school children. This proved to be the case.

Program Development

In the fall of 1981, five young Malaysian students from the IELP spent a full school day on a Monday with second grade pupils at Ichabod Crane Primary School (ICPS), following a weekend family stay in the home of the children's classroom teacher. Later, both groups were engaged in activities as follow-up to the visit.

Evaluation of the program was based on information collected from questionnaires filled out by the pupils' parents who reported on the reaction of their children to the experience. Evaluation data were also elicited from the ICPS principal, the teacher involved, and IELP students and faculty members. The results were extremely encouraging, and continued to be so for all subsequent visits.

During the next two years, nine additional small groups of IELP students combined a homestay in Columbia County with an ICPS classroom visit in order to interact with both an American family and young school children of 6-8 years of age. The international student groups were from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Venezuela, Colombia, Chile, Guatemala, Mexico, and Italy.

In 1983, a mini-grant was received from the American Association of Elementary School Principals to further develop the program and to purchase Global Education materials. In the same year, a videotape of project activities at ICPS was produced by the Educational Communications Center, SUNYA.

The following year the program was expanded and modified to some degree, so that more ICPS pupils and IELP students could get involved. In the spring of 1984, twenty-one IELP students went to Valatie, New York, and spent the weekend in the homes of primary school pupils, whose eleven classrooms they then visited on the following Monday. Many parents were actively involved during the weekend as hosts of the adult students. The ICPS Association of

Parents as Educational Partners organized the homestay and a reception held for all participants at ICPS.

Preparation for Visit

Preparation for the school visit involves many people and several stages. The people include the elementary classroom teacher and his or her class of approximately twenty pupils, and the IELP students and their instructor(s). It is necessary that all approaches used and information shared in the classroom be appropriate to the pupils' ages, their perceptions of "the world," their limited abilities to conceptualize and their styles of learning. Bits of information and activities must be as concrete as possible, with lots of student participation, so as to enable the children to comprehend and profit to the maximum from the experience.

Consider the elementary teacher and her class. After receiving the names of their upcoming international visitors, the pupils send the visitors a written invitation to spend a day in their classroom. Pupils learn some basic information about the home country of these people: geographic location and features, climate, products and dress. The teachers and pupils prepare a bulletin board focusing on the country. They prepare a list of questions to ask the visitors. Wanting to know about pets, games, and types of houses represent some typical inquiries.

The IELP students engage in a fairly extensive preparation requiring approximately six to eight hours and encompassing several dimensions, from introductory brainstorming to materials-gathering to practicing the teaching of short lessons.

Brainstorming is done to discover, as a group, those aspects of the students' culture which may be particularly intriguing to young children. Examples include first names and realia (currency, stamps, artifacts, special clothing, posters, toys) which can be brought and shown to the children. Food, music, dance, games, and a different language are all of interest to the children. To illustrate in more detail, consider these items separately.

A list of the pupils' names approaches personalization when the IELP students prepare a large name tag for each child. Given the American name, the international students assign an equivalent name in their language, translated, if possible; otherwise a new, but typical name is chosen. These tages are distributed to the children at the beginning of the school day, and are worn throughout the day to give them a sense of not only their own, but also a slightly extended and international identity.

"Food" often refers to a dessert, to be tasted and shared by all on the day of the visit. Platanous from Colombia, mosaic from Turkey, curry puffs from Malaysia and tabouli (tippula, tapoula, tiboli--no three students agree on the spelling!) from Saudi Arabia are a few of the favorites. Besides actually preparing the dessert, though, the students also duplicate their native recipes so that the children may take them home, where someone else may want to try them out!

Music and dance with their international appeal are exciting and appropriate vehicles for the sharing of cultures. Students may sing, play an instrument and teach the children a song and dance. Learning the seemingly strange new words in a new language is rendered much easier when there's a tune to help. A placard containing the words, in written form, and prepared by the IELP students is also helpful.

Games, though verbalized in a different language, have an appeal to all children. "Blind Chicken" is the Colombian version of tag but perhaps more fun, especially when played with the adult visitors!

The realia, food, music and games have a different look, taste, or sound, and appeal to the children's various senses, but perhaps nothing is as obviously different as the language of the visiting students. Although Spanish is not as unusual sounding or looking to an American as Arabic, and may, in fact, have been heard on the street or via the media, the diverse languages provide a very new visual and oral experience for the pupils. The IELP visitors, during their preparation, practice the teaching of numbers (1-10), counting, and common expressions (Hello, Good-bye, How are you?, etc.). Not only is this preparation oral, but visual as well. That is, two-sided flashcards illustrating both English and the respective foreign language are made by the IELP students. In the case of an alternate writing system, such as Arabic, a transliteration of the Arabic word appears on the card. Seeing a number or expression written in Arabic script, or Chinese or Japanese characters, provides quite a contrast to their more familiar-looking English. "Anya Ha Sayo," the Korean equivalent for a casual hello, looks and sounds so drastically different from anything the children have seen.

Homestay

For the first two years, the homestay aspect of the program provided time for the primary school teacher and the small group of international student guests staying in her home to become well acquainted prior to the "Monday visit" to the teacher's classroom; to develop together a "Monday" schedule for the classroom based on pre-planned activities; and to prepare together the national food from the IELP students' country.

In the revised program, with each ethnic group of IELP students staying at the home of a primary school pupil, the one child and the international students have the opportunity to become "fast friends" during the weekend. Often they spend time with other young people invited for part of the weekend.

In both cases, weekend activities are determined by the host families and may include doing the "chores," taking trips to local points of interest (the ICPS creative playground, constructed by members of the community, is a favorite), going to auctions, visiting neighbors, hiking, playing music or games, cooking, watching TV or simply talking.

Classroom Visit

The visit to the primary school is the culmination of all the preparatory activities. The interaction and the meshing together of previous strangers, or "names-only" acquaintances, into personal friends can be the epitome of inter-cultural or multi-cultural exchange, education, and understanding. Names, music, language and games take on a more meaningful dimensions when they are learned and experienced through the people of whom they are a part.

The "Monday" schedule of classroom activities, as blocked out by IELP students and the ICPS teacher may look something like the schedule found below.

Typical Schedule for a "Monday Visit to ICPS
by Malaysian Students

8:30 a.m. ICPS pupils and IELP students arrive in the classroom. Pupils receive name tags and learn how to pronounce their names in Malay.

8:50 a.m. Teacher takes attendance, collects lunch and milk money; pupils salute flag, and sing the national anthem, etc.

9:05 a.m. IELP students teach the following:

Apakabar!	Hello
Kabarbaik	Fine
Siapa Nama Kamu?	What's your name?
Nama saya ________	My name is ________
Terimakasih	Thank you
Kembali	You're welcome

9:35 a.m. Teacher works with pupil reading groups while IELP students observe

10:10 a.m. Pupils ask questions about Malaysia, following review of geography of Malaysia

10:30 a.m. IELP students talk of tigers, their families, fishing as an occupation, food, and children's games. They teach a song to the children

Topi saya bundar,	My hat is round,
Bundar topi saya.	Round is my hat.
Kalau tidak bundar	If it's not round
Bukan topi saya.	It's not my hat.

11:00 a.m. Pupils take international students to art class.

11:40 a.m. Lunch. All pupils and adult students eat together in the school lunchroom.

12:30 p.m. Language expressions and song are reviewed and a second song is taught to the children.

Satu-satu saya sayang ibu,	One, one, I love my mother
Dua-dua saya sayang ayah,	Two, two, I love my father,
Tiga-tiga saya sayang kakak,	Three, three, I love my sisters and brothers,
Satu-dua-tiga sayang semuanya.	One, two, three, I love everyone.

Children learn numbers 1-5.

1:00 p.m. Recess--IELP students teach an outdoor game; children teach an American game, if time permits.

1:45 p.m. Refreshments (international desserts) are served. All participants converse informally; review songs, numbers and language expressions; exchange telephone numbers; etc.

Good byes are expressed in Malay.

Follow-up Activities

Following the actual day in the school appears another category of exchanges, insights and perceptions, as evidenced by the materials received by the IELP students from the elementary pupils. The children send back representations of their memories and interpretations of the visit. What the children send back is representative of what they remember of this visit and their interpretations of the visit. Sucn memories come back in the form of compositions ("Hamzah shot a seven foot tigger"), a class letter from the entire group, letters written individually, expressing their enthusiasm and excitement, and often an invitation for a return visit. In addition, the children send examples of their artwork which reflects their rendition of that unique day: their visitors, the games, the good, the flag. Perhaps most importantly, though, are those increased insights and understandings which can not appear in tangible form, but which nevertheless, raise the sensitivity level of individuals (young children and adults alike) and make them aware that people are similar around the globe, although their cultures and their expressions may differ.

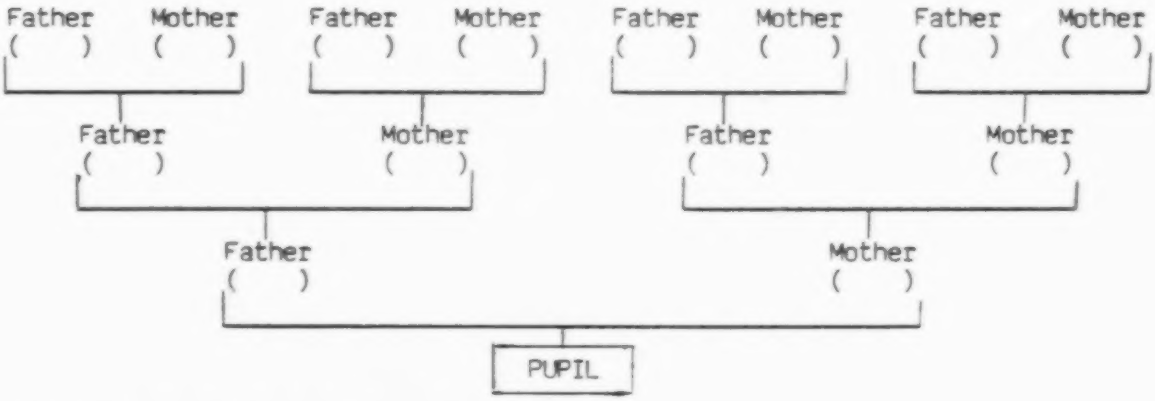
PHASE TWO - Follow-up Activity

A. Review/recall-visit by foreign students in elementary school classroom

Greetings, song, expressions in foreign language, differences

B. Nationality of students and teacher

C. National Heritages of Students



D. Student search for information dealing with one (or principal) heritage
    location of country on globe, language, music, customs

E. Listing of all heritages reprsented in class (including teacher)

F. Add other ethnic backgrounds to list of people living in U.S.

G. Concept of Ethnic Pluralism in U.S.

Malaysia

We learned how to talk Malaysian. Malaysia is a little bit bigger than Florida. There houses are made of wood and concrete. Monkeys are big and little and they take food from picnics. Hamzah shot a seven foot tigger.

Appendix B

MALAYSIAN RECIPE

The following recipe is for breakfast and teatime. It may be prepared with less curry (or without curry) according to taste.

CURRY PUFF

Ingredients for pastry:

4 oz. flour
pinch of salt
2 oz. margarine
cold water to mix

Method:

1. Sift the flour and salt into mixing bowl.
2. Rub the margarine lightly into the flour with your finger tips till the mixture is loose and dry like breadcrumbs.
3. Add 1 ½ tablespoons of water (cold) and mix with a table knife. If necessary, add more water to get evenly bonded and firm dough.
4. Flour a pastry board, knead the dough and roll out the pastry abour 1/8" thick.

Ingredients for filling:

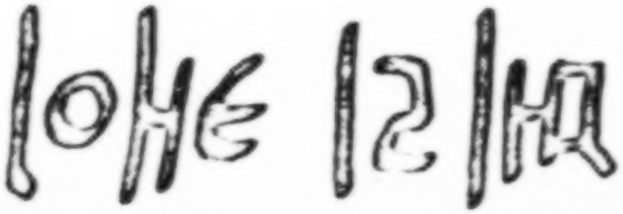
1½ lbs. meat
1 potato
1 tablespoon curry powder
1/2 (Bombay) onion (if available)
2 onions
a stem of curry leaves (if available)
salt, oil

Method:

1. Rinse and mince the meat.
2. Peel, wash and dice the potato and onions.
3. Heat up 1 tablespoon of oil and fry chopped onions.
4. Add the curry leaves and curry powder and fry for 2 or 3 minutes.
5. Add the meat and fry for another minute or two.
6. Add the potato, salt and 1/2 cup water. Cover, cook until the potato is soft and filling dry. Season well and cool filling on a plate.
7. Make the pastry crust, roll out to 1/8" thickness and cut it into rounds.
8. Put equal amount of the cooled filling on each round of pastry, wet the edges of the pastry rounds, fold over to make the curry puff.
9. Seal the edge of each puff with a twisted edge.
10. Fry the puffs slowly in oil, lightly till the pastry is thoroughly cooked. Drain well and serve with a sprig of parsley.

This will make about 30 puffs.

This is an example of the name tags.



Mary Kay

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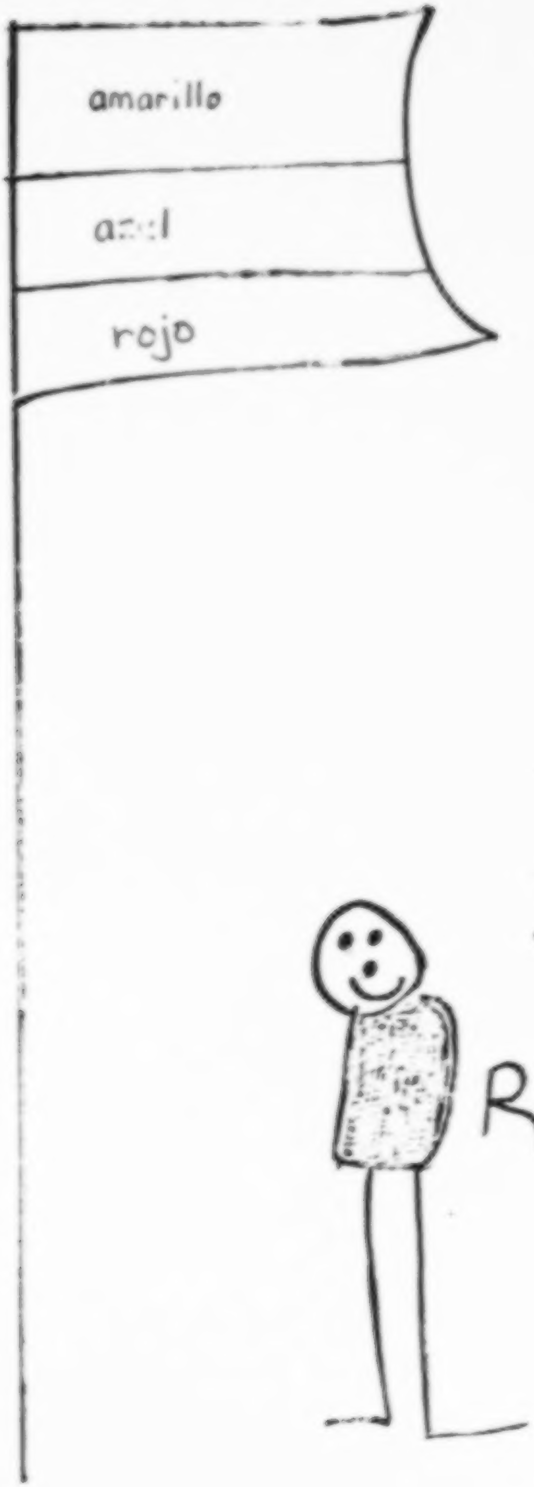
amarillo
azul
rojo

José's Ruana

by Teresa

Teresa Coons 4-18-8

Colomdia

They made patacones.
I had fun when we played.
We had more fun at recess!
I liked when Luis and Luz
danced. I loved the name cards.

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Center for Languages, Literacy, and Cultures Education
SUNY-Albany
School of Education

The major aim of the Center for Languages, Literacy, and Cultures is the improvement of educational practice within the context of educational institutions (elementary, secondary, and college/university) in the United States and other countries. The areas of concern include such aspects as:

1. first and second language learning processes
2. the interrelationship of language skills--listening, speaking, reading, and writing
3. learner differences and their effect on language development
4. the assessment of language proficiency and instructional approaches
5. the relationship of second language study and cross-cultural understanding

Professors from various departments at SUNY-Albany (e.g., Teacher Education, Reading, Linguistics, English, Hispanic Studies, and Anthropology) participate in a number of initiatives in a number of areas:

1. university-schools co-operative inservice education and/or curriculum development projects
2. the publication of a monograph series, including instructional manuals, tests, and assessment instruments
3. collaboration with other on-going SUNY international projects (e.g., Indonesia, Africa, Brazil, and Yugoslavia
4. the planning of conferences involving scholars and educational practitioners.